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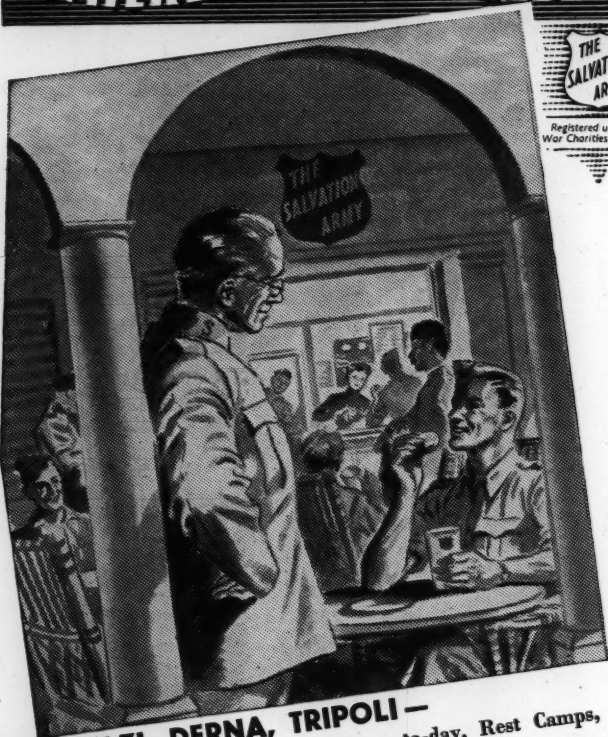
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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 557.—JULY 1943.

Art. 1.—THE FOUNDER OF THE 'QUARTERLY REVIEW'—JOHN MURRAY II.

ON June 27, 1843, died the second John Murray, celebrated in literary history as Byron's Murray. He was also the founder of the 'Quarterly Review,' which three months earlier, on March 21, lost its most important contributor during its first thirty years, the Poet Laureate, Robert Southey. The extent of the loss to contemporary letters by these two deaths may be inadequately reckoned to-day. Southey's fame has suffered unfairly from the damaging attacks of Byron, Hazlitt, and Macaulay, three writers whose popularity with posterity has surpassed his own; of all his immense output of polished prose, only his lives of Nelson and Wesley are much read, and apart from a few lyrics, his poetry is ignored; it is forgotten that his 'Joan of Arc' attracted attention two years before the appearance of 'Lyrical Ballads,' that his early nature poems experimented before 1802 with the theory expounded in Wordsworth's preface of that year, that his 'Thalaba' and 'Kehama' attempted such revolutionising of the epic as Coleridge constantly urged upon Wordsworth, and that his influence—not Coleridge's or Wordsworth's—was felt by Shelley in his impressionable years. As for Murray, a publisher's achievements, like an actor's, are soon forgotten, since both are, in different styles, channels of conveyance for creative art; the classics of literature pass out of copyright into various reprints, leaving no reminder of the man who had the acumen and enterprise to introduce them to the public. Not for nothing was Murray called by Byron 'the "Avaξ of publishers," 'the modern Tonson,' and 'the Mokanna of booksellers'; besides Byron's works, he published books by Scott and Southey, Crabbe, Campbell, Rogers, and Thomas Moore, Disraeli, Borrow, and Washington Irving, the 'Ettrick Shepherd,' Napier, Hallam, Milman—
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all names which live in literature. By shrewd judgment, sympathy and tact in personal relations with writers, generosity, fair dealing, and courageous enterprise, he rose from modest beginnings to an eminence second to none among contemporary publishers, and his career will always occupy an important chapter in the history of English publishing.

The first John Murray, younger son of a writer to the Signet at Edinburgh, became a lieutenant of marines, but retired on half-pay in his early twenties, when he bought the bookselling business of William Sandby, at the sign of the Ship in Fleet Street. He wished to marry, saw no prospect of immediate promotion in the service, and Sandby's was a sound business; as he informed a correspondent, 'many Blockheads in the Trade are making fortunes,' and he thought he should succeed as well as they. Starting with a new edition of Lord Lyttelton's 'Dialogues of the Dead,' he carried on the business creditably for twenty-five years, till his death in 1793 at the age of forty-eight; he published Mitford's 'History of Greece' and Isaac D'Israeli's 'Curiosities of Literature,' and left a sound platform for the launching of his son's career.

Born on Nov. 27, 1778, the son was still a schoolboy at his father's death. He went to several private schools, among them Dr Burney's at Gosport, where an accident lost him the sight of his right eye. When his mother married again, though still a minor, he took into partnership his father's 'faithful shopman' and executor, Samuel Highley, who initiated him into trade routine. But Highley had more capacity for fidelity than enterprise, and after coming of age, young Murray, impatient of being 'shackled to a drone,' dissolved partnership, and in 1803 took the 'plunge alone into the depths of literary speculation.'

Times were bad for trade. Napoleon threatened invasion, and young Murray, like Wordsworth, joined the volunteers enlisted to repel invaders—the counterpart of the modern Home Guard. He made a brief experiment with sensational books, including some extravagant 'Memoirs of Talleyrand,' but soon removed them from his list, because, as he told Longmans, who shared their publication, they had 'not added to a respectability of

which, like yourselves, I am exceedingly tenacious.' He sought to establish a solid reputation as a publisher of travel and medical books, but found himself in wider fields when he secured the London agency of the enterprising Edinburgh publisher, Archibald Constable. He managed the London sale of Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' in 1805, by which time Constable was so impressed by his zeal that he wished to transfer to him the London agency of the 'Edinburgh Review.' Longmans, however, held an agreement allotting to them a half-share in the periodical, and not till two years later, when the editor, Francis Jeffrey, threatened to walk out with his contributors and start a rival review, were they induced to sell their interest.

By then, thwarted of the sole agency of the 'Edinburgh,' Murray had conceived the idea of a rival periodical. As early as September 1807 he submitted to George Canning his plan of a Tory review to combat the extreme Whiggery of the 'Edinburgh.' With a wariness characteristic of the political careerist, Canning made no response, but directed his cousin to arrange an acquaintance between Murray and William Gifford, his associate ten years before on the 'Anti-Jacobin.' A year passed before promise of a more powerful ally decided Murray to make the venture. Since its foundation in 1802, Walter Scott had been a staunch supporter of the 'Edinburgh,' partly because it was the only periodical 'independent of bookselling influence' and providing 'the only valuable literary criticism,' partly because it appealed to his national pride as emanating from the stronghold of Scottish culture. With its politics, often veering so far to the Left as to be reckoned jacobinical, he felt little sympathy, for, as John Buchan wrote, 'he was always wholly insensitive to the appeal of abstract ideas,' and unlike almost every other contemporary writer of genius—Coleridge, Wordsworth, Landor, Southey, Shelley—he remained unmoved by the ideals of the French Revolution. He disliked the implication of disorder inseparable from his conception of revolutionary reform, and the corns of his political susceptibilities were repeatedly trodden on by Jeffrey and his colleagues.

'The Lay of the Last Minstrel' established Scott as the most popular writer of the day till his vogue was eclipsed by Byron's. Murray began correspondence with

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him by publishing Joseph Strutt's unfinished romance, 'Queenhoo Hall,' which Scott edited and completed—'a step,' as he later related in the general preface, towards the Waverley Novels—and when Scott drifted away from Constable and embarked upon his disastrous publishing enterprise with the Ballantyne brothers, Murray became London agent for the Ballantynes. On the publication of 'Marmion' in the spring of 1808, Jeffrey reviewed the poem with such severity that he enclosed, with a copy of the review, a note to Scott, asking that it should be allowed to make no difference to their friendship. Shrewdly arguing that 'Scott may forgive but he can never forget this treatment,' Murray sounded James Ballantyne about Scott's possible cooperation in a new Review, and was encouraged to seek out Scott himself at his Ashestiel home.

Opportunely for Murray, in October 1808, the month of his visit to Ashestiel, Brougham reviewed in the 'Edinburgh' a propagandist book by Cevallos, the exiled King Ferdinand's secretary of state, on Napoleon's usurpation of Spain. Praising the gallant resistance of the Spaniards to Napoleon, Brougham ascribed it to democratic patriotism, and scathingly condemned the weak and unprincipled conduct of the exiled king and his ministers in truckling to the French and then leaving the people leaderless in their resistance. History has proved Brougham's view correct, but Scott was enraged by the article, which he considered as calculated to create faction among the forces opposing Napoleon and to embarrass our Government, whose policy advocated reinstatement of the Bourbon monarch as a lesser evil than the hostile rule of the usurper. Cancelling his subscription to the 'Edinburgh,' he immediately lent active support to Murray's project. The 'higher powers,' who for twelve months had imparted to Murray no more definite intimation than that they were 'exceedingly desirous for the establishment of some counteracting publication,' promptly reacted to Scott's approach; he wrote to Gifford through Lord Advocate Colquhoun, leaving the letter open 'that Mr Canning might read it if he thought it worth while,' and personally to George Ellis, a minor minister and man of letters, who enjoyed Canning's confidence, as well as to Rogers, Southey, and 'others whose reputations Jeffrey has murdered.' Within a few days,

he was enabled to inform Murray that 'Gifford has accepted the task of editing the intended Review.'

In literary history Gifford lives unluckily in the brilliant and biting portrait by the Radical Hazlitt in his 'Spirit of the Age,' which the author himself admitted to be 'harsh,' and for his insensitive treatment of Shelley and Keats—for, though it has appeared that John Wilson Croker was the author of the notorious review of 'Endymion,' the odium still clings to Gifford. An 'acid and deformed pedant' Sidney Colvin called him, and his literary character is easier to defame than defend. His little-known autobiography, the ample account by Smiles,* and Baring-Gould's sketch in 'Devonshire Characters' tell a story of youthful struggle comparable in merit with any self-made career. Born at Ashburton, Devon, in 1857, he was early left to the care of a callous guardian, who, finding his health unequal to a farm-labourer's work, sent him to sea as a cabin-boy and then apprenticed him to a shoemaker. He was befriended by a local surgeon, who raised a subscription to buy him out of his apprenticeship and send him to the school of a clergyman named Smerdon—possibly the same as succeeded Coleridge's father as curate at Ottery. Obtaining a Bible readership at Exeter College, Oxford, he took his degree, and became tutor to Lord Grosvenor's son. His work on a translation of Juvenal, which Scott considered 'one of the best versions ever made of a classic author,' trained a talent for satire vented in the 'Baviad,' a savage mockery of the Della Cruscan poets, including Robert Merry, the wealthy dilettante Bertie Greatheed, Mrs Piozzi, and 'Perdita' Robinson, who, though scant of talent and tainted by a typically Bloomsbury preciosity, evinced in their principle of 'sifted' expression a preliminary symptom of the Romantic Movement. The 'Baviad' exploded the brief bubble of their vogue, and in the following year, 1795, Gifford consolidated with the 'Maeviad' such reputation as a satirist that, fourteen years later, in 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' Byron asked, 'Why slumbers Gifford? . . . Are there

* The present article is obviously indebted to 'A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray,' by Samuel Smiles, London, 2 vols., 1891.

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no follies for his pen to purge?' His success secured him the editorship of the 'Anti-Jacobin' in 1797, and thenceforward he was a tool of the Tory party; he received a sinecure of 600*l.* a year as controller of the lottery, and was so inveterate a party writer that, as Baring-Gould wrote, 'he would not consider a work to be reviewed on its own merits, but looked first to see what were the politics of the author before he praised or condemned the book.'

Murray would have preferred Scott as editor, but to combat the powerfully established 'Edinburgh' he needed ministerial support, with the authority of inside information for political articles, and Gifford was the nominee of the 'higher powers.' When the first number of the 'Quarterly Review' appeared in February 1809, four thousand copies quickly sold, and a second impression was printed. But the 'higher powers' were loth to board the vessel before it was safely launched; first they communicated with the publisher only through Scott, then proceeded to a pseudonymous mysteriousness appropriate to a comedy melodrama of secret service. Scott informed him that he might receive a letter 'signed Rutherford or Richardson, or some such name, and dated from the North of England . . . the secrecy to be observed in this business must be most profound,' and if Murray got articles from this correspondent, he must 'throw out a false scent for enquirers.' Croker, afterwards a regular contributor, wrote only one article during the first ten numbers, George Ellis offered more advice than practical help, Gifford himself was only a supervisor.

In other ways Murray found reason for Southey's belief that the Review would benefit if 'emancipated from the shackles of party.' His own politics were very like Scott's; like Scott, he had sentimental Jacobite leanings, since his great-uncle had been out in the '15 rising and subsequently endured exile at the Old Pretender's court; he supported the Government because he believed in the utmost prosecution of the war against Napoleon; he shrank from drastic reform, lest its repercussions disturbed the settled pursuit of trade. But he did not, like Gifford, allow party prejudice to vitiate his literary judgment. Nearly twenty years later, when Hallam, irritated by Southey's review of his 'Constitu-

tional History,' accused Murray of deference to Tory opinion, he scoffed at the notion that he would be 'so foolish as to admit of such influence in the regulation of my business,' and proudly declared that he 'felt it a duty to publish, with equal integrity, Croker and Leigh Hunt, Scott and Moore, Southey and Butler, Hobhouse and Gifford, Napier and Strangford.' Aware that, apart from Scott and Southey, the 'Quarterly' lacked guns of literary calibre, and that nearly all the leading writers of the day inclined to liberal opinions, he did not scruple to look further than the faithful, and invited contributions from Leigh Hunt and James Mill. Editor of the Liberal 'Examiner' and soon to be imprisoned for libelling the Prince Regent, Hunt replied that he would have been 'most willing' to write for the 'Review,' 'did he not perceive that the political sentiments contained in it are in direct opposition to his own.' Murray felt sincere regret that a gifted writer should allow politics to prevent his acceptance of such an opening for literary criticism, writing to Scott, 'Hunt is most vilely wrong-headed in politics, which he has allowed to turn him away from the path of elegant criticism, which might have led him to eminence and respectability.'

James Mill sent an article, but Gifford objected to its political tone and offended Mill by holding it over. He also offended Southey by 'emasculating' his first article, and though Southey became the 'Quarterly's' most regular and valued contributor, receiving as much as one hundred pounds per article, he repeatedly resented Gifford's 'mutilations' of his work. Though it has long since become common courtesy for an editor to make no alterations to an article without asking the author's consent, Gifford followed the contemporary practice induced by the prevailing rule of anonymity, and when offering advice about the conduct of the 'Quarterly,' Scott wrote :

'One great resource to which the "Edinburgh" editor turns himself, and by which he gives popularity even to the duller articles of his "Review," is accepting contributions from persons of inferior powers of writing, provided they understand the books to which their criticisms relate ; and as such are often of stupifying mediocrity, he renders them palatable by throwing in a handful of spice, namely, any lively

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paragraph or entertaining illustration that occurs to him in reading them over. . . . This seems to be a point in which an editor's assistance is of the last consequence.'

In view of Gifford's political bias and acid tendency, it is probable that he pointed many of the barbs which gave offence and marred the 'Quarterly's' just reputation for generally judicious criticism, and Murray spoke with either irony or characteristic tact when he told Washington Irving that, while Gifford 'does not write any full articles for the "Review," but revises, modifies, prunes, and prepares whatever is offered,' he was 'very apt to extract the sting from articles that are rather virulent.' Southey, who had declined to contribute to the 'Edinburgh' on account of Jeffrey's 'cruel manner of criticism' and himself suffered more lastingly than any contemporary from malignant critics, always set his face against the savagery of reviewing which reached its height in the exchanges between 'pimpled Hazlitt' and the young men of 'Blackwood's Magazine.' The tendency of too many reviewers has been to parade their own cleverness at the expense of their subjects; too few have adopted as a principle Coleridge's resolution 'never to lose an opportunity of reasoning against the head-dimming, heart-damping principle of judging a work by its defects, not by its beauties.'

To Murray his editor's worst vice was unpunctuality. Though, at Murray's request, Scott wrote after the first number a 'most pressing' letter to Gifford, and Murray himself wrote in exasperation of 'the complete misery which is occasioned to me, and the certain ruin which must attend the "Review," by our unfortunate procrastination,' both the second and third numbers appeared a month late. Excusing his dilatoriness, Gifford lamented with truth his serving 'too many masters' and 'a want of confidential communication' between editor and publisher; evidently jealous of Murray's confidence in Scott, he complained of his having 'too many advisers,' but the want of confidence arose from Gifford's secretive dealings with the 'higher powers.' When he wrote pompously that, 'in consequence of my importunity, Mr Canning has exerted himself and produced the best article that ever yet appeared in any Review,' Murray was unimpressed,

and his poor opinion of the third number, which lacked an article by Scott or Southey, was endorsed by Ellis's verdict that it was 'notoriously and unequivocally *dull*.' Emphasising the need for 'wit and variety' and to avoid 'ponderous articles,' Ellis criticised Gifford as 'too patient and laborious,' while Isaac D'Israeli bluntly asked, 'Can't you get a more active and vigilant Editor?'

Throughout the second year of the 'Quarterly's' existence, editorial delays continued; one number was six weeks late. Losing money on every number, after the seventh Murray disclosed to Gifford, as an urge that he should bestir himself, that he had dropped nearly 5,000*l*. Gifford replied churlishly that there was yet time to recover part of the sum 'you have so unwisely put in hazard,' but a little more of 'this strain' would render him 'quite weary of a post which is far enough from a pleasant one.' Over policy there were also frequent differences. The bias of Gifford's judgment was instanced in his abuse of Landor's 'Commentary on Trotter's Memoirs of Fox.' As Murray was publishing the pamphlet on commission and glad to establish connection with a gifted writer, who was also Southey's friend, he printed it unread, and was dismayed by Gifford's outburst on seeing the proofs. The dedication, appealing to the American President, Madison, to avert the impending war against Britain, he denounced as 'rascally,' 'abject,' and evidence of Landor's 'rancorous and malicious heart,' the criticism of Canning was 'stupid,' and he would not have Murray publish such a 'scoundrel address.' Murray begged Southey's intercession with Landor, who declined to alter a word but consented to relieve the publisher's anxiety by withdrawing the publication.

Murray repeatedly protested against Gifford's acerbity against political opponents, especially against his tilting with the 'Edinburgh.' He received support from Southey, who believed that the best way to shake the credit of the 'Edinburgh' was 'to take up those very subjects which he has handled the most unfairly,' and from Ellis, who considered that Sydney Smith would have smarted more from ridicule than 'from being slashed and cauterised' in Gifford's '*terribly severe*' style. Gifford's intemperance of expression incurred trouble when he described Charles Lamb as a 'poor maniac'; Southey immediately pro-

tested indignantly, and Gifford could only assert that he knew nothing of Lamb's tendency to mental derangement, and had meant only to deride him as 'a thoughtless scribbler.' Lamb suffered from Gifford's 'mutilations' when he reviewed the 'Excursion' for the 'Quarterly,' and warned Wordsworth that the review 'you will see in the Quarterly is a spurious one which Mr Baviad Gifford has palm'd upon it for mine.'

Besides editorial harassments, Murray was suffering financial difficulties. War-time finance entailed long credits, and he was publishing too few profitable books for his agency to be valued at Edinburgh. He broke with the Ballantynes in 1810, when they sold a share in 'The Lady of the Lake' to another London publisher; though he lost by this the honour and profit of sharing publication of the Waverley Novels, he averted implication in the financial disaster which ruined Scott. Scorning retrenchment to palliate his money troubles, he won Southey's allegiance—and the products of his tireless energy—by his munificence; he was so impressed by Southey's review of several ephemeral biographies of Nelson that he not only paid a hundred guineas for the article, but offered a further hundred pounds for its enlargement into the 'Life of Nelson,' the work by which Southey is now best known.

With like generosity, Murray overwhelmed Gifford with a Christmas present of five hundred pounds, so securing his editor's gratitude and confidence. Gifford suffered from what modern psychologists call an inferiority complex; his poverty of origin, misery in boyhood, struggles for self-improvement, dependence on patronage, and physical deficiencies—an accident in childhood caused a spinal deformity, and 'one of his eyes turned outward'—rendered him reserved, shy, instinctively aggressive in self-defence, and inclined to snobbery to impress with self-importance. To kindness and generosity he reacted gratefully, and he was fervently loyal to the few who won his friendship—he was at school with Hoppner the painter, remained his life-long friend, and left his house to Hoppner's widow. For twelve years, till ill health compelled his resignation of the editorship in 1824, he faithfully served Murray's interests.

In 1812 William Miller, having made a comfortable fortune from bookselling at 50 Albemarle Street, offered

his business to Murray for rather less than four thousand pounds. Though he had to pledge his most valuable copyrights as security and it was nine years before he finally paid off the purchase, Murray closed with the offer and moved to the address which has remained ever since the home of his firm. By this time he had published 'Childe Harold,' beginning the association—unbroken for ten years despite the caprices of Byron's temper—which lasted till the poet was persuaded by his friendship for Leigh Hunt to publish through Hunt's brother. Byron enjoyed a popular vogue beyond any poet's before or since; 'The Giaour' ran through five editions in as many months, six thousand copies of 'The Bride of Abydos' were sold in the month of publication, and at a booksellers' dinner in 1816 Murray took orders for seven thousand copies of the third canto of 'Childe Harold' and the same number of 'The Prisoner of Chillon.'

The publication of Byron's works, besides banishing Murray's money worries even at the time when the uncertainty of Napoleon's fate was creating commercial and financial chaos, established his position as a leader among London publishers. The drawing-room at Albemarle Street became a rendezvous for great writers of the day. The American, George Ticknor, called it 'the literary exchange,' and in the summer of 1815 met there Hallam the historian, Elmsley the scholar, Byron, Gifford, Thomas Campbell, and young Benjamin Disraeli. The proudest moment of Murray's life occurred in his drawing-room when, as he duly recorded, on Friday, April 7, 1815:

'This day Lord Byron and Walter Scott met for the first time and were introduced by me to each other. They conversed together for nearly two hours.'

'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' contained not only derision of 'thy stale romance' 'Marmion,' but an insulting gibe at Scott's 'prostituted muse,' and courage as well as tact was needed to invite forgiveness of such a rankling offence. In 1812 Murray delicately informed Scott how Byron had gone out of his way to repeat to him the Prince Regent's praise of Scott's poetry, 'thinking, as he said, that if I were likely to have occasion to write to you, it might not be ungrateful for you to hear of his praises.' Accepting the gesture, Scott wrote

to Byron through Murray, refuting with dignity the charge of venality against his literary character and recording his appreciation of 'Childe Harold'; Byron replied with the plea that his satire was written when he 'was very young and very angry,' acknowledged Scott's praise of himself, and repeated the Prince's praise of Scott. A cordial correspondence developed, and after their first encounter, they met frequently in Albemarle Street; Murray's son, the third John Murray, remembered seeing 'the two greatest poets of the age—both lame—stumping downstairs side by side.'

Thanks to the regularity and excellence of Southey's articles and the authority lent to its political pronouncements by ministerial information, the 'Quarterly' became firmly established; in 1814 it was selling seven thousand copies, and three years later Southey announced its sale as ten thousand, while 'fifty times ten thousand read its contents.' Throughout the nineteenth century other reviews came and went, but the 'Quarterly' and the 'Edinburgh' remained the twin pillars of dignity and discrimination in criticism; a full-length review of his works in their pages marked an epoch in any writer's career. The influence of reviewing has steadily declined in the past hundred years. In 1847 a favourable notice in the 'Edinburgh' by a writer so utterly forgotten as Abraham Hayward could insure the success of 'Vanity Fair'; with the discarding of anonymity for signed articles, individual critics assumed more influence than individual periodicals, and at the end of the last century, the praise of Andrew Lang could lift a writer from obscurity to popularity. But during the last decade reviews, no matter from which reviewer or what periodical, have slight effect on the figures in publishers' ledgers; book clubs have become the arbiters of public taste.

Murray's other ventures with periodicals were less fortunate. After his breach with the Ballantynes, William Blackwood became his Edinburgh agent, and an arrangement emerging from the complicated affairs of the Ballantynes enabled Murray to share the publication of 'Tales of my Landlord.' This appeared anonymously, and though Scott was generally suspected to be 'the Author of Waverley,' he so mystified both publishers of the 'Tales' that, after he had actually accepted Murray's

offer to review the book in the 'Quarterly,' they decided that the anonymous author must be Scott's brother. Scott's use of anonymity for creation of mystery was dangerously developed by John Wilson, John Gibson Lockhart and their colleagues when 'Blackwood's Magazine' started in 1817; they not only collaborated, but carried to extremes Gifford's habit of 'mutilating' contributions, often so utterly refashioning articles that they were unrecognisable by their authors.

Neither Murray nor Blackwood was prepared for the sensation created by the magazine. The first impression of ten thousand copies soon sold, but no more were printed, as several libel actions were threatened on account of the 'Chaldee Manuscript,' an amusing skit in which nearly every Whig of celebrity in Edinburgh was caricatured. Vicious attacks on Coleridge's 'Biographia Literaria' and 'The Cockney School of Poetry' excited Murray's vigorous protests, but Wilson and Lockhart continued their buccaneering. A sample of Murray's protests, written after flagellations of Leigh Hunt, Keats, and Hazlitt, has curious interest:

'You have unfortunately too much of the Lake School, for which no interest is felt here. Your editors want tact as to the public interest; and by having two, in fact you have no editor: they are more intent on their own writings than in collecting materials from others, and in abridging, altering, adding to, and improving the contributions that are sent to them. . . . One great advantage of the editor of the Q.R. is that he does not write; but what he does do is equal in value to writing half of each number.'

He did not flinch when Hazlitt instituted proceedings, subsequently withdrawn, for libel, but after two years of repeated protests against the personalities of the incorrigible pair, he sold his share in the magazine.

With Croker—the Mr Rigby of 'Coningsby' and the Wenham of 'Vanity Fair' and 'Pendennis'—he soon afterwards entered upon a brief and unprofitable connection with the 'Guardian' newspaper, and despite this failure, he was persuaded in 1824 by Benjamin Disraeli to take a half-share in a new daily newspaper, 'The Representative.' In spite of his irresponsibility in the early conduct of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' Lockhart was

recognised as the most brilliant young writer in the Tory camp, and he was offered the editorship. But, as Scott's son-in-law and one of the co-editors of 'Blackwood,' he held a position in Edinburgh too secure to be sacrificed for a precarious possibility, and he recommended his associate Maginn. Not unnaturally Murray was loth to repose confidence in this ebullient Irishman, the prototype of Captain Shandon in 'Pendennis'; he compromised by sending Maginn as special correspondent to Paris—an unfortunate move, in view of 'Maginn-and-water's' notorious weakness for conviviality. Perhaps Murray's reluctance to trust Maginn was unfortunate for both, for the 'Representative' failed for want of a responsible editor, and Maginn, who, despite improvident habits, afterwards achieved brilliant success as editor of 'Fraser's Magazine,' might have been deterred from a career of dissipation by being thus early entrusted with a responsible and remunerative post.

The negotiations with Lockhart resulted in his appointment as editor of the 'Quarterly.' In defiance of failing health, Gifford had hung so long to the reins that he surpassed his own record for delay, and in one year only two numbers appeared instead of four! John Taylor Coleridge took over from him, but increasing work in his legal practice compelled his resignation after a year, and in 1825, on the urgent recommendation of Scott but with doubts and protests from Croker, Southey, and other advisers, Murray appointed Lockhart. He never regretted the appointment, for Lockhart, so far from evincing any of the disturbing tendency suggested by his earlier indiscretions, soon won the approval of his critics and continued an able and conscientious editor till the year before his death in 1854. It may indeed be argued that he allowed his spirit to be too chastened by responsibility, and his conscientious attention to editorial duties deprived him of fully displaying his gifts as a writer.

The remainder of Murray's career was a successful maintenance of his enviable reputation as a publisher. No account of him can be complete without mention of the famous burning of Byron's memoirs. Byron gave the memoirs to Moore, who sold them to Murray before Byron's death. Byron expressed no objection to the sale, and obviously intended and expected their publica-

tion after his death. But after that event, his friends Hobhouse and Kinnaird demanded that the memoirs should be placed at the disposal of his family, and Lady Byron and Augusta Leigh appointed representatives, neither of them men of letters, to join the arbitration. Lady Byron was against publication, Mrs Leigh for burning the manuscript; overawed by the sense of his responsibility, Moore weakly proposed placing the manuscript at Mrs Leigh's disposal, thereby countenancing the burning. As legal owner, Murray could have done as he pleased at his own risk, but he had submitted the manuscript to several readers, including apparently Lord John Russell, Washington Irving, and Maginn, as well as Gifford, and abiding by Gifford's judgment that the publication would be damaging to Byron's name, he was naturally indisposed to defy the family representatives. In his book on Byron, John Drinkwater decided that none of the participants 'behaved very reprehensibly,' but it is hard to understand why he declared that 'the legend of Moore's abject destruction of Byron's memoirs bears no examination.' The mere fact of Byron's gift of the manuscript implies that he intended Moore's profiting by it, which he could not do otherwise than by publication; obviously if he had written the memoirs for his own amusement, intending their ultimate destruction, he could have destroyed them himself. Moore should clearly have regarded the gift as a trust, and if the time was not propitious for publication, the manuscript could have been privately preserved for the judgment of a future generation. The loss to literature may be gauged from Maginn's artless gossip:

'His memoirs and his private letters are the only things of his that I have ever seen, that give me, in the least degree, the notion of a fine creature, enjoying the full and unrestrained swing of his faculties. Hang it, if you had ever seen that attack of his on "Blackwood," or, better still, that attack of his on Jeffrey, for puffing Johnny Keats—or, best of all, perhaps, that letter on Hobhouse—or that glorious, now I think of it, inimitable letter to Tom Moore, giving an account of the blow-up with Murray about the Don Juan concern—oh, dear, if you had seen these, you would never have thought of mentioning any rhymed thing of Byron's.'

MALCOLM ELWIN.

Art 2.—THE DEADLOCK IN INDIA AND THE INDIAN STATES.

POLITICALLY there are two Indias. A glance at the map will help to explain the position. You will see great yellow patches on the pink ground, extending in an almost unbroken line from the Chinese and Russian borders in the north to Cape Comorin in the south ; from the Persian frontier on the west to the Bay of Bengal. The yellow represents the Indian States ; the pink, the British Indian Provinces.

Five hundred and sixty-two in number, the States cover over a third of the surface of the sub-continent ; their population of ninety-three millions is a little less than a quarter of the total population of India. They vary in size from the domain of less than a square mile, whose ruler has little more authority than a British county J.P., to the great semi-independent Muslim State of Hyderabad, three times the size of Ireland, which, in population, natural resources, public revenue, efficiency of the administration and culture, stands comparison with the leading Muslim States of the Near and Middle East. Only one hundred and thirty-two States have direct representation in the Chamber of Princes ; of these a score or so divide between them the greater part of State territory and its inhabitants.

Indian Rulers have lost their international status. They are in quasi-feudal relations with the British Crown, whose paramountcy they acknowledge. The Crown guarantees their external and internal security, in return for which they pledge themselves to share in the defence of the Indian empire. The internal sovereignty of the larger States is limited mainly by the requirements of imperial defence ; in such matters, for example, as railways, ports, and telegraphs, the limitation of armaments, admiralty and international questions such as tariffs, they are expected to conform to imperial policy. The Crown claims the right to intervene in the internal affairs of States exercising full powers only when there is danger of misrule bringing on insurrection.

In the last quarter of a century small groups of the Hindu intelligentsia in the leading States have shown sympathy with the Indian Congress party ; in some cases

Congress organisations have been set up. Apart from such movements the States have generally remained outside the arena of Indian politics. Nevertheless the Princes have no desire to hamper the progress of British India to self-government. On the contrary they played a prominent part in the Round Table Conference in 1930 and 1931, and made possible a unified scheme of government of India by agreeing to enter a federation, but only on the condition that their identity was safeguarded and the position of the Crown preserved.

The move was not inspired entirely by unselfish motives. The Indian Legislature had practically controlled economic policy for the ten years preceding the London Conference; bitter experience had shown the Princes that unless they had a voice in such policy the Indian politician in a self-governing British India might, if hostile to the States, make their position untenable.

At this period political India, as represented by Congress, had no desire for an alliance on equal terms with Princely India. They regarded themselves as the rightful successors of the British and in that capacity claimed the heritage of paramountcy. With control of the army and of policy generally they were confident of being able to mould the States to their will. They were not, however, actively aggressive and Gandhi, whose family was originally domiciled in the Porbandar State, where his father had held office as minister of the Maharaja, was more or less neutral. In 1936 Pandit Nehru, for his part, confined his criticism of the States 'to their being content to remain static in an ever-changing panorama, staring at us with the eyes of the nineteenth century. India should not recognise settlements made over one hundred years ago as permanent and unchanging.' At the same time he described as a sinister development the building up of armies in some of the States on an efficient basis. The Princes, as against Congress claims, were not prepared to renounce their allegiance to the Crown.

Congress attitude towards the Princes stiffened when in 1937 they took office under the India Act of 1935. They soon discovered, in the words of a well-known Congressman, that the scheme of self-government in the provinces provided in that Act conferred 'power, prestige, patronage, and all that comes with responsible govern-

ment.' Elated with their unchallenged authority in the greater part of India (in eight provinces out of eleven) they now showed signs of an inclination to re-orient their policy ; instead of wrecking the Act they thought it might be worth while to experiment with federation. There was, however, no hope of their forming a government if they had to rely on the support they could command in British India ; a strong contingent of legislators from the States owing allegiance to the party was essential to a Congress victory. The great majority of the States are Hindu ; Congress, as already noted, had sympathisers among the Hindu intelligentsia in several of them ; Gandhi's mysticism had a strong appeal ; if the Princes, instead of sending their nominees to the federal government, could be induced to allow the States representatives to be chosen by popular vote Congress could hope to win enough seats to give them a majority.

Gandhi now abandoned his attitude of neutrality. He subscribed to Pandit Nehru's views that the States were an anachronism, maintained by British imperialism as a breakwater against the rising tide of Indian democracy. The Princes must abjure autocratic rule and hand over responsibility for the administration to their people. Otherwise they would be wiped out of existence when Congress came into their own. With his instinct for the dramatic Gandhi started a death-fast in the Rajkot State in order to coerce its Ruler into granting a democratic constitution to his people. The Ruler stood his ground and only Viceregal intervention rescued Gandhi from the dilemma in which he had placed himself.

A violent agitation about this time was started in the leading States by paid agents of the Congress : in some of them, e.g. Mysore, Travancore, Hyderabad, there were serious disturbances resulting in serious loss of life and damage to property. Gandhi called off the agitation when he found that opposition was too strong to be overcome.

A natural consequence of the attack on their domain was that the Princes demanded further safeguards against Congress aggression before they would enter a federation. His Majesty's Government was not, however, prepared to make further concessions and with the outbreak of the war the question of federation was relegated to the back-ground.

The Princes rallied to the defence of India and the Commonwealth, placing their armies and resources at the disposal of the King-Emperor. Their first-line troops, trained and equipped on British models, were nearly 50,000 strong; many of them were sent overseas where they have distinguished themselves in half a dozen campaigns. The strength of these forces has since been raised to nearly 100,000 in order to replace war wastage. Large numbers of States subjects have enlisted in the Indian army. Several States, Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad, have provided squadrons for the Royal Air Force. In all the larger States strenuous efforts have been made to place industry on a war footing; Mysore has started a factory for assembling aeroplanes; other States, e.g. Hyderabad and Jodhpur, have established centres for training technicians for the Air Force, the Army Service Corps, and other services.

Congress, under Gandhi's dictatorship, assumed a non-violent attitude towards the war. They modified their views on the collapse of France, discarded non-violence and demanded the immediate transfer of government so as to enable them to organise the defence of India. On meeting with a refusal they turned again to Gandhi and, under his auspices, started a *satyagraha* campaign of symbolic civil disobedience. This was suspended when the Japanese came into the war and for a second time Congress called on his Majesty's Government to hand over power that they might make the war a people's war. As before Gandhi retired to the background. It is not clear what rôle Congress would have assigned to the Princes on either occasion. Presumably they would have been expected to transfer their allegiance unconditionally to Congress.

At this stage it is necessary to recall the fact that the Congress movement was almost entirely confined to high-caste Hindus; it was strongly opposed by the Muslims and outcasts; the Princes were not prepared to risk the fortunes of their ninety-two million people in such a wild adventure. In any case Congress, without Gandhi, would have had no appeal to the masses; they could not make the war a people's war. On the other hand, if Gandhi resumed control, he would insist on non-violence and, as he said later, he would have attempted to make peace with Japan.

It is hardly necessary to say that the British Government were not prepared to hand over supreme power to what was really an unrepresentative minority. Had they allowed their hand to be forced there is little doubt that the Princes, unless previously coerced by military force, would have offered armed resistance to Congress.

Two or three months later the Cripps Mission appears on the Indian scene with the offer, after the war, of Dominion Status, or independence as an alternative, a scheme of self-government to be evolved by Indians themselves.

The position of the Princes in the new India envisaged in these proposals is not altogether clear. They would participate in a constitution-making body, their representation to be in proportion to their population. They might or might not accede to the Union or Federation. In any case new treaties would be necessary to conform to the new situation. Paramountcy would disappear in the case of States acceding to the Union, which would seem to imply that they could no longer claim the protection of the Crown against subversive attack by a hostile Federal Government.

What would be the position of the non-acceding States; whether they would be permitted to form a separate union among themselves under the ægis of the Crown, can only be surmised. If the rest of India were independent the position of the British Crown would be so anomalous that one can hardly imagine that the British Cabinet contemplated a continuance of the existing responsibility of the Crown towards the Princes. If that responsibility were to be effective, as a recent Hindu writer puts it, 'the States would become small island habitats for foreign troops all over the country when India is free. Mother India's face would for ever be dotted with small-pox.'

The Princes were ready to play their part in the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps. The failure of the Mission, owing to the intransigence of Congress, gave them little opportunity. Their representatives only had a few short talks with the British envoy.

Congress refused the offer presented by Sir Stafford Cripps on the ground that the British Government was not prepared to hand over complete responsibility at once to a National Government, which would have been a Congress

government, as Pandit Nehru admitted, since it would have been supported by the Mahasabha, the orthodox party of militant Hinduism, and the Sikhs. What the position of the States would have been is again not clear. Presumably Congress would have expected the British Government to disband the States' armies and entrust paramountcy to the new rulers.

A Congress ultimatum quickly followed the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations. At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at which Congress decided to take the plunge Gandhi apostrophised the Princes. He repeated the charge that they were the creation of British Imperialism, set up as an obstacle in the path of India's freedom. They should realise that autocracy is a thing of the past ; that they must act as trustees of their people. ' Let them mend their ways while he was still alive ; when he was gone Pandit Nehru would have no patience with them.'

The Princes are not prepared to extinguish the traditions of centuries at the Congress summons. They stand by their treaties. They are prepared to play a part in a self-governing India, but only under the ægis of the British Crown. They will not submit to the dictation of the professional politician of British India. Some of their spokesmen have urged that, if the protection of the Crown is to be withdrawn, the territories ceded in consideration of such protection should in equity be restored. India, they argue, is incapable of defending herself. She lacks the resources and the industrial development ; her total revenues would not suffice to maintain an adequate navy and air force, to say nothing of an army. What is more, the Princes would demand further safeguards ; they had not forgotten the reluctance of the Viceroy to utilise his powers under the Act of 1935 to protect the Princes against Congress agitation in 1937-38. The Viceroy's attitude was, the Princes thought, explained by the fear lest Congress governments in the provinces would resign if pressure were brought to bear on them to prevent Congress agents from moving across State frontiers. A similar motive might influence future Viceroys.

The provision in the Cripps scheme for the revision of treaties caused some alarm to the Princes. Did this mean unilateral action aimed at weakening the States' rights at

the bidding of political India? Who was to have the final voice in the revision? Whatever dangers might threaten, the Princes would, his Highness the Jam of Jamnagar told a London audience last November, continue to maintain the same consistent loyal and dignified attitude as in the past, conscious of the right of British India to progress, but equally determined to maintain their own rights.

Much can be said in defence of the Princes against the Congress indictment. No one can deny that during seven or eight centuries of Muslim rule the Rajput Princes did much to keep alive the religion, tradition, and culture of the Hindus. Does this splendid service to Hinduism deserve to be buried in oblivion? Many Hindus think not. Rajputana has been, and still is, a stronghold of Hinduism, of the Hinduism Gandhi desires to restore to what he regards as its pristine excellence.

The gibe that the Princes are a creation of British imperialism hardly needs a retort. Most of the States, especially the Rajput States which are in the majority, have their roots deep in the soil of India. Many of the Rajput States are over a thousand years old. The most recent States, all of them over two centuries old, are succession States to the Mogul empire, Baroda, Indore, Hyderabad, Gwalior. Hyderabad has several centuries of Muslim rule to its credit. Where the Prince and his people are Hindu they represent the traditional form of government in India in which the Kshattriya (Rajput) Raja is an essential element with the Brahmin priest. It should be noted that the British had to fight for their existence against Mysore and the Maratha States.

The Congress attack on the system of government prevailing in the States as one of undiluted autocracy, with its inevitable corollary of oppression, is unjustified. There have been, and possibly still are, cases of misgovernment, but the danger of exposure in the Press and of the intervention of the Crown representative act as a strong deterrent to Rulers who might be disposed to take their responsibilities lightly. Apart from such considerations the Chamber of Princes expects its members to observe such principles as a fixed civil list, the maintenance of a permanent and decently-paid civil service, and a judicial system that inspires confidence. In the larger

States the administration is based on that in force in British India ; British law has been introduced and it is often as efficiently administered as in British India ; there are strong local bars and a gradation of courts of justice with the High Court at the apex, often presided over by distinguished lawyers or retired High Court judges from British India. In several States, e.g. Hyderabad, a complete separation of the judicial and the executive has been achieved, a long-cherished ideal still not realised in British India.

Education is a strong point. Three of the States have universities, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore ; all of any size have colleges affiliated to the universities of British India. The percentage of literacy in Travancore is the highest in India ; in others, Mysore and Baroda for example, it is much higher than it is across the frontier. One can hardly impute a determination to maintain despotic rule to Rulers who create facilities for a university education on western lines in favour of the youth of their countries intelligent enough to benefit by it, when they must know that by doing so they are producing a class that will almost inevitably challenge their authority.

In social reform some of the States have outdistanced British India. In Travancore, for example, the temples have been thrown open to the outcast ; the status of Hindu widows has been improved. Baroda, Gwalior, and other States have invested huge sums for the promotion of village welfare ; in many of the larger States industrial development is financed out of public revenue. In Bhavnagar rural debt has been practically abolished. If the States merited the indictment of Pandit Nehru would there be a constant immigration into their territories from British India, as in Bikanir ; would industrialists plan to move their factories to the States to avoid the inconveniences caused by Congress policy when in office ?

The Princes have not rested content with sound administration. Much has been done to associate the people more closely with their government. In States comprising 72 per cent. of the people elective assemblies are in existence ; their powers and privileges vary from the advisory to a capacity not far short of popular control. Mysore, Baroda, and Cochin have popular ministers, Kashmir under-secretaries from the elected assembly ; in

point of fact, in Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin, the scheme of government approaches closely that established in British India by the Act of 1935. It may be noted that certain members of the Mysore Legislative Council wear the Congress label, a tribute to the broad outlook of the Mysore Government. In Cochin a Congress supporter was appointed minister. The Press in the States has considerable freedom if less licence than in British India, except where attacks on the British Government are concerned !

The Congress policy of obliterating the States has little support in the States themselves. As in British India the peasantry are politically inarticulate ; Rajput Thakurs and the bigger landowners, the yeoman class, the old-fashioned trade and caste guilds—none of them desire to be merged in a Congress raj. Apart from what people think in the States there is in British India itself a strong body of opinion among important groups of the less politically-minded opposed to interference, either by Congress or by His Majesty's Government, in the India of the Princes. Rajputs, for example, throughout India are proud of the achievements of their clansmen in the States ; ninety millions of Muslims in India would rush to the rescue of his exalted Highness, the Nizam, if attempts were made to abolish Muslim sovereignty in the Deccan ; there might be repercussions throughout the Muslim world. The great Maratha people of the south would resent an attempt to overturn the Kolhapor dynasty which, for them, enshrines proud memories of the Maratha empire ; the Sikhs of the Panjab look to Patiala as a rallying point against the possibility of Muslim domination. The late Maharaja of Mysore was revered throughout India for his solicitude for his people.

An incident of last August illustrates British Indian feeling towards the States. Representatives of Hindu clans of the north, with military associations, Rajputs, Jats, Ahirs, Gujars, met in New Delhi to discuss the possibility of a union among themselves with the object of strengthening their position in the Indian army. They claimed to speak for ten million fighting men. ' Dawn,' the daily organ of the Muslim League, saw in the movement an effort to improve the Congress position in the military field, at present notoriously weak, as a prelude to

a Congress raj. However that may be, it is significant that the meeting passed a resolution strongly condemning the Congress attitude towards the Princes. The obvious inference is that if Congress wants a military backing they must renounce their hostility to the Princes.

Gandhi has never clearly defined his scheme for the government of an independent India. Whether it is to be a democracy on the British model is doubtful. 'Gandhi's conception of democracy,' Pandit Nehru tells us in his autobiography, 'is definitely metaphysical and has nothing to do with numbers or majority representation in the ordinary sense. It is based on service and sacrifice and uses moral pressure. He claims to be a born democrat if—the Pandit quotes Gandhi's own words—complete identification with the poorest of mankind and to approach their level entitles one to it. Congress enjoys prestige of a democratic character, not because of its numbers but by its ever increasing service. Western democracy is on its trial if it has not already proved a failure. May it be reserved to India to evolve a true service of democracy.'

We seem here to get a glimpse of a far off Utopia. But whatever Gandhi's dream of an India of the future may be, it is incontestable that the evolution of Congress in recent years has been towards totalitarianism. When in office the inner council, or High Command, of the party made and unmade ministries, dictated policy, ignored the mandate of the electorate from which they derived their power. There is little doubt that had the British Government capitulated Congress would have played the rôle of a political oligarchy on the lines of the Kuo-min-tang in China, under the leadership of a dictator, Gandhi or Nehru.

With such a background Congress can hardly expect the Princes to obey their behests and introduce full-blown democracy, especially when the latter are well aware that the demand is made simply in order to secure a Congress majority in an All-India Government.

What would be the consequence of such a transfer of power in the States? There would be no real government by the people. What would happen would be that a handful of the Hindu urban intelligentsia under Congress influence and out of touch with the currents of life in the countryside would obtain control of the administration

and utilise it in their own interest. The Princes might very well contend that to introduce such drastic changes would be a detrayal of their moral responsibilities.

Gandhi has made it clear that when Congress assumes charge of the Indian Government the Indian army will be automatically disbanded. What of the armies of the Princes? Unless, as already observed, the British Government forcibly brings about their disbandment before handing over to Congress the Princes would inevitably combine to protect their territories. The Muslims in the Indian army would refuse to be disbanded; they would seize the north; the Hindu Princes might easily seize the remainder, excluding Hyderabad, which every Indian Muslim would offer his life to protect. Half a million British bayonets might hardly suffice to make India safe for Gandhi and the Congress.

Even if Congress decided to eschew non-violence and maintain the Indian army at all events for the time being, it is doubtful whether it could command the allegiance of a sufficiently strong element to overawe the Muslims and the Princes. The weakness of their appeal to Hindu castes and tribes with military associations has been, and still is, an obstacle in the path of the political ascendancy of Congress.

The position of the Princes in Indian policy as sketched in the foregoing paragraph establishes clearly enough their right and capacity to play a leading part in the framing of the constitution of a self-governing India, a right they will claim more insistently if India is to leave the British Commonwealth. Their instincts are conservative; they will fight to secure the British connection and are not likely to support a system that would make Congress rule—the rule of the Brahmin and high-cast Hindu—inevitable, unless they can set up adequate barriers against Congress attack. For this reason Congress are determined to render them politically innocuous.

British public opinion does not view with favour the repudiation of treaties; the fact that the loyalty of the Princes to the British Crown is their chief offence in Congress eyes will undoubtedly influence the British people in their favour. They have given their best to their country and the empire in two life-and-death wars; they do not merit the obloquy Congress pour on them; public opinion,

both in the States and among important groups in British India, would be opposed to their elimination. A threat of this kind to the great State of Hyderabad would be sufficient of itself to light the flame of civil war. And, as regards Indian democracy, the Princes might very well argue that parliamentary democracy has proved a hopeless failure in Asiatic countries ; there is nothing to show that Indians, left to themselves, could make it a success. Gandhi is doubtful of its suitability to the Indian political climate ; let Congress show that he is wrong before trying to force the system on the Princes.

The Princes are as anxious as any Indian nationalist to promote Indian unity and on it to found a free self-governing empire within the British Commonwealth.

There is an obverse side to the picture. So long as elements exist in the political life of the States which make arbitrary rule possible, so long will the Princes be regarded with distrust by political India. If Indian rulers are to play a part worthy of their best traditions and their place in Indian polity it is essential that they should unite on a common policy, designed not only to make clear to their own people and to political India, but to Britain and the world at large, that the days of arbitrary rule have gone for ever ; let them prove this by devising a system of government which will inspire confidence among their own people. It need not necessarily be the type of democracy that opens out a career for the demagogue among an uneducated people to whom politics are a mystery, which is what Congress want ; it should be possible to give the people a voice in their destiny without going to such extremes. Now is the time for action ; the political armistice which the war has imposed gives the Princes a breathing space ; if they miss the opportunity it may never recur.

W. P. BARTON.

Art. 3.—THE DISRUPTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption. By Hugh Watt. Nelson, 1943.

WHILE divergent views are expressed, with varying degrees of justification, concerning the determining causes and effects of the disruption of the Church of Scotland a century ago, there is remarkable unanimity as to the undaunted heroism and magnificent self-sacrifice of those who 'came out.' Lord Cockburn, who knew what was involved, from the judicial as well as from the ecclesiastical side, in this effort to uphold the authority of conscience and of positive religious belief, characterised the Disruption as 'the most honourable fact for Scotland that its whole history supplies,'* while Lord Jeffrey, an eye-witness of the memorable spectacle that occurred on May 18, 1843, was convinced that there was not another country in the world in which such a sight could have been seen—testimony devoid of prejudice, since it was uttered by one who was no churchman. Even Gladstone, when engrossed by the Tractarian movement, could not withhold his admiration, though Mr Lathbury prints letters which cast doubt on the Victorian statesman's appreciation of the real significance of the Disruption. And if a more recent tribute to the noble-minded purpose of those who left the Scottish Establishment in 1843 be required, there is the pronouncement of Dr Warr, Dean of the Thistle and of the Chapel Royal in Scotland. 'The success of this adventure of voluntary Presbyterianism, and the gallantry with which it was pursued, is one of the epic chapters in Scottish ecclesiastical history.'†

A common but ill-informed opinion is that the Disruption was a dispute about patronage. So fine a historical scholar as Mr G. P. Gooch, in his 'Annals of Politics and Culture,' ascribes the Disruption to 'lay patronage being made legal by the Auchterarder Case,' whereas the truth is that the legality of lay patronage was entirely uncontroverted. At no stage of the conflict did

* 'Journal,' II, 32.

† 'Presbyterian Tradition,' 337.

the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland insist on the removal of this grievance as an essential condition of peace. What was asked for originally was that certain adjustments be made in the working of the Patronage Act so that the people would be given a larger voice in the appointments to vacant livings. Had this been conceded, Chalmers and his supporters would have been satisfied, and probably there would have been no Disruption.

But the dictatorial attitude of the civil courts, more especially their assumption of the right to interfere not merely with regard to the temporalities but in spiritual functions, which the Church unfeignedly believed to be its exclusive province, altered the whole situation and made it demonstrably clear that the fundamental relations of Church and State were in the balance. The principle at issue therefore went much deeper and comprehended something far more substantial than patronage, namely, liberty of conscience for the Church in all matters pertaining to spiritual jurisdiction. Not only was this a part of the constitutional law of Scotland, set forth in the statutes of the realm, but 'an article of faith, received by the people as an essential part of their religion, involving the principle of loyalty to the great founder of the Christian faith, as the only head of the Church. . . . The civil magistrate was to bear rule and to be obeyed in civil affairs '*; but if he attempted to interfere with the spiritualities, he was to be resisted to the death.

Fundamentally, then, the crisis of 1843 was the outcome of a reassertion in very definite terms of a principle that was taught in the first Confession of Faith drawn up by the Scottish Reformers and had been operative more or less throughout the history of the Church of Scotland—the inherent power of the various ecclesiastical courts to control absolutely the spiritual concerns of the people. But the Patronage Act of 1712 (N.S.) neutralised this principle (which had been re-affirmed at the Revolution) and caused all the strife that followed. The legal interpretation envisaged the Established Church as a department of the State exercising rights and powers not intrinsic but derived from Parliament. According to this view, there was no such thing as the 'co-ordinate jurisdiction'

* Omond, 'Early History of Scottish Union Question,' 88-9.
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of the civil and spiritual authorities. A free Church in a free State was but a visionary speculation.

The Act of 1712 was bitterly resented by the Evangelical party in the Establishment, since it deprived congregations of a voice in the choice of their ministers, the power being transferred from heritors and elders, in touch with local aspirations, to lay patrons who might be non-resident and wholly unfit to present a suitable incumbent to a parish. For many years the Assembly annually petitioned for the abolition of lay patronage, but this was done rather as an assertion of the rights of the Church than as a protest against a tangible wrong. The truth is, that at first the administration of the Act was gone about with circumspection. Consequently there were relatively few incidents to provoke controversy. But when, under the leadership of Principal Robertson, Moderatism reached its zenith, the working of the Act was supervised more rigorously. A policy was inaugurated which, in the words of Dean Stanley, completely vindicated 'the superiority of the law to ecclesiastical caprices,'* by which is meant the giving effect to all legal presentations, cost what it might.

Not that the Moderates denied the necessity of a 'call' from the congregation, but, as Sir Henry Craik points out, 'they distinctly minimised the material importance of that call by holding it as little more than a formality.'† Moreover, they were persuaded that 'an occasional abuse of the right was a course less dangerous than the substitution for that right of a system which would make the Church independent of the civil power, but yet make her subject' to popular choice.

Moderatism harmonised with the spirit of an age which, discarding the theological and ecclesiastical controversies of the seventeenth century, was immersed in secular interests which were a natural accompaniment of the intellectual awakening as well as of the commercial and industrial expansion that marked the period of David Hume, Adam Smith, and James Watt. When it is desired to show how disastrous Moderatism was for the religious life of Scotland, it is customary to refer to the 'Autobio-

* 'Lectures on Church of Scotland,' 126.

† 'Century of Scottish History,' II, 360-1.

graphy' of Dr Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, one of the most amazing books that ever proceeded from the pen of a person following a sacred vocation—the record of a Scots clergyman engrossed in various forms of worldliness; indeed religion is rarely mentioned. Carlyle was a leader of the Moderates and accurately reflects its dominant characteristics. The creed of Moderatism was essentially latitudinarian, being compounded of elements that were intended to place it on good terms with the educated classes who had become critical of the traditional theology and were, in fact, more interested in philosophy and literature than in religion. The Moderates, as Principal Rainy said on a memorable occasion, set culture before truth and life. Their ecclesiastical policy was frankly Erastian. They upheld the rights of patrons and were champions of legal discipline and settled order in the Church. It is therefore not difficult to understand how Moderatism and all its works were anathema to the Evangelical party which, as the eighteenth century advanced, gained fresh accessions of power by the fervour of its preaching, and by regarding the ecclesiastical rights of the people as of the first importance.

Early in the nineteenth century the Moderates retained a numerical majority in the Assembly, but unquestionably the leading men belonged to the Evangelicals. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Dr Andrew Thomson, and the great Chalmers infused a new religious spirit, which found an outlet in spiritual and humanitarian movements hitherto undreamt of. In 1817 the Assembly passed an Act against the non-residence of ministers; in 1824 it inaugurated a foreign mission enterprise though there had been disapproval in 1796; and in 1829 it dispatched a missionary to India in the person of Alexander Duff, who, combining Christian teaching with western science, wrought an epoch-making work. And how far the doctrinal laxity of Moderatism had been left behind was attested by the deposition of Edward Irving for what was deemed heretical teaching but was in reality a symptom of quickened religious zeal.

Against this background the discordance between patrons and congregations was increasingly apparent. As objections to presentees were frequent and lay patrons were thwarted in the exercise of their legal rights, forced

settlements became a perturbing feature of Scottish Church life. The Evangelicals contended that while the rights of patrons rested on statute they were valid only when they did not clash with an essential principle of the Church, i.e. that no minister could be thrust on an unwilling congregation. Thus 'Non-Intrusion' had become the storm-centre of ecclesiastical politics, and the urgent need was the discovery of some plan whereby delicate adjustment might reconcile legal right with the Church's historic claim to discharge its spiritual functions without external pressure.

In the Assembly of 1832 an overture was tabled which aimed at restoring the 'call' to the position it occupied before the reign of the Moderates, but it was defeated by a majority of forty-two. The issue was now fairly joined. In the following year Chalmers, as leader of the Evangelicals, brought forward a motion that heralded the period historically known as the 'Ten Years' Conflict,' the proceedings of which from the outset were ominous of what the end would be. Chalmers proposed that dissent of the majority of male heads of families should under certain specified conditions be regarded as conclusive testimony against a presentee. In other words, no minister should be intruded on a parish against the will of the congregation. The motion was rejected by a majority of twelve but was carried in the Assembly of 1834.

Chalmers urged that the Veto Act (as it was called) was a legitimate exercise of spiritual authority but did not strengthen his argument by a false analogy. He referred to the practice of the Church of England but was evidently unaware of an important difference. In England a patron may present a layman to a benefice. The question, whether to ordain or not, is decided by the bishop, and no civil court will interfere with his discretion.* In Scotland a patron was restricted in his choice to a minister or probationer of the Church of Scotland whose fitness had been certified by a presbytery. It was therefore with some pertinence that the question was asked in the Assembly as to whether the Veto Act was not *ultra vires*. But Lord Moncreiff, a lawyer of great repute, declared that the Church was acting within its powers. The same

* Sir Thos. Raleigh, 'Annals of Church in Scotland,' 312.

Assembly passed the Chapel Act by which ministers of chapels, erected in populous parts and supported by voluntary effort, were recognised as of equal status with parish ministers and consequently eligible as members of the various Church courts. The underlying assumption of such legislation as the Veto Act and the Chapel Act was that an Established Church might alter its constitution without consulting Parliament.

Whether Chalmers and his followers were justified in this belief was soon apparent. Within a few months a crucial test was applied. The Earl of Kinnoull had presented Robert Young to the parish of Auchterarder. But 287 males of families out of 330 comprising the congregation objected to the presentee. In accordance with the Veto Act, the presbytery delayed sustaining the presentation till the matter had been brought before the Assembly.

The consequences predicted by the opponents of the Act were now revealed. Lord Kinnoull and his presentee appealed to the Court of Session, and out of thirteen judges, eight sided with patron and presentee. Nor was this all. The Veto Act was declared contrary to the law of patronage and therefore beyond the competency of the Assembly to have passed, a judgment which, as Lord Cockburn asserts, implied that communicants had 'very little, if any, indirect check against the abuse of patronage; . . . that the mere unacceptableness of the man to the parishioners is not even relevant as an objection' and 'that in law the *call* is a mockery.' Further, while it might be for the Church to determine whether the presentee be qualified, it was 'not entitled to hold acceptableness as a qualification.*' Finally, the judgment decided that it was competent to the civil court, even when the temporalities were not directly concerned, to control the Church.

Cockburn's prognostication that 'the last of the Auchterarder Case' would not be heard for a century was nearly fulfilled. The Assembly appealed to the House of Lords against a judgment which entirely swept away the idea of independent governance in spiritual things in an Established Church. 'Utter erastianism,' as Dr Carnegie Simpson has it, 'was the condition of establishment.†'

* 'Journal,' I, 167.

† 'Life of Principal Rainy,' I, 51.

34 DISRUPTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

The appeal came before the House of Lords in May 1839, and, after pleadings lasting five days, was summarily dismissed. Cockburn speaks of 'the ignorance and contemptuous slightness' of the Lords' judgment,* and suggests that Parliament ought to have legalised the Veto Act and so softened patronage without destroying it.

But the Assembly was in no mood for compromise : it passed a resolution declaratory of its independence in things spiritual. At the same time it summoned the Auchterarder presentee to the bar for threatening the presbytery with damages if it did not proceed with his induction. The Court of Session, on the other hand, ordered the presbytery, under threat of heavy pecuniary damages, to take Young on trial, and, if satisfied with life and doctrine, to induct in defiance of popular opposition.

That the Veto Act placed the Church in an awkward predicament was brought home with convincing force by other cases. At Lethendy the presbytery, embarrassed with two presentees, ordained one (Andrew Kessen) to a purely spiritual cure. The other presentee (Thomas Clark) appealed to the Court of Session. Whereupon the presbytery was summoned before the judges who informed the members that only leniency prevented them from imprisonment. The effort to mitigate the evil of patronage had resulted in its becoming more deeply rooted.

Still more remarkable was the case of Marnoch, in the Presbytery of Strathbogie, where out of three hundred male communicants only one, a publican, signed the call to John Edwards,† the presentee. The Assembly intervened to prevent ordination, which led the trustees of the Earl of Fife, the patron, to substitute another presentee, a Mr Henry. The dilemma of the presbytery was now more embarrassing than ever. Apart from two presentees, there was the paramount question : Was the presbytery to obey the Assembly or the Court of Session ? The latter alternative was decided on by seven votes to four, the minority being amenable to the Assembly. The Strathbogie Case, as may be imagined, caused consternation in the supreme court of the Church. For contumacy

* 'Journal,' I, 226.

† Hume Brown, 'History of Scotland,' III, 428.

of the most daring kind, the seven ministers who had hearkened to the voice of Cæsar were first suspended and then, because of their continued disobedience, deposed.

But the Court of Session came to their aid, placing an embargo on all ministers of the Establishment from discharging any spiritual function in the parishes of which the deposed brethren were ministers. It was thus made transparently clear that there was no limit to the powers of intrusion. Moreover, the strange spectacle was witnessed of two presbyteries in Strathbogie—one taking its orders from the Court of Session and the other from the Assembly.

Smarting under this blow to its prestige, the Assembly withheld Edwards's licence, but was promptly reminded that it could not defy a decree of the law lords without incurring grave risks. On the day following the deprivation of Edwards an interdict was served on the Assembly and, amid loud protestation, was laid on the table of the House. The judges ordered the subservient ministers to continue their pastoral duties despite the action of the supreme court of the Church. Thus was created the highly anomalous position of ministers who were regarded by the Church as simply laymen exercising sacred functions by the power of the secular arm alone.

At this critical juncture Chalmers and other ecclesiastics opened negotiations with the Government in the hope of ending by legislative enactment the deadlock that had arisen between the Assembly and the civil courts. The main object was that the rights of the people in the matter of calling a minister should not only be conserved but strengthened, while patronage, if not abolished, be rendered comparatively innocuous. Lord Melbourne was twice interviewed, but he failed to appreciate the situation, and in any case, owing to political considerations, could not afford to espouse contentious measures. Lord Aberdeen, however, introduced a bill in the House of Lords which some vainly believed would be 'the balm of Gilead for all ecclesiastical sores.' The measure attempted to bring about emendations whereby the popular 'call' in the appointment to vacant livings would become more prominent, but the proposal was banned by the Assembly as inadequate.

By 1841 it had become obvious that unless some

drastic measure was taken a disruption of the Scottish Church was inevitable. It was indisputably clear that the only terms on which the State was willing to maintain relations with the Church was, that the idea of popular settlements of ministers should be relinquished, that spiritual acts were invalid if declared so by the law courts, and that *all* ecclesiastical differences must in the last resort be decided by the civil judges.

A Conservative Ministry was now in power, and it was felt that notwithstanding the hopelessness of the outlook one last attempt should be made to save the Establishment from irreparable disaster. But Sir James Graham, the chief spokesman of the Government, was strongly averse to Parliamentary intervention. That a religious establishment should esteem popular rights more highly than the law and order laid down by the State for its government was to him a sinister phenomenon. Furthermore, if the claim of the Scottish Church were conceded, the likelihood was that Parliament would be called on to deal with a kindred claim by Newman and the Oxford Tractarians, which would lead to more complications.

When Sir James Graham met the demands of the Non-Intrusionists with a simple negative another bill was introduced in the House of Lords—this time by the Duke of Argyll. Its central feature was that the Veto Act should be legally sanctioned. But the measure failed to pass, though it was naturally approved by the Assembly.

When the Non-Intrusion controversy began few Evangelicals wished to see patronage entirely abolished; but the logic of events convinced them that it was the root of all the evils affecting the Church and accounted for large secessions. It came therefore as no surprise that at the Assembly of 1842 a motion was carried for the abolition of patronage as an intolerable grievance. Much more important, however, was the sanction of the Claim of Right which clearly defined the Church's position with regard to non-intrusion and spiritual independence. This, the ultimatum of the Evangelicals, was drafted by Alexander Dunlop whom Cockburn acclaims 'the great legal general of the Church in this war.' The Claim of Right, in particular, set forth that the recent proceedings of the civil courts were unconstitutional, that the State's invasion of the spiritual domain had been such that the

Church of Scotland was no longer a Church of Christ, and that unless there was a substantial mitigation of these grievances, many would quit the Establishment.

The Claim of Right virtually marked the crossing of the Rubicon. Separation was almost a foregone conclusion, and a convocation of ministers was held in Edinburgh in November mainly with the view of ascertaining how many were prepared to leave their churches and manse in the event of the State doing nothing to remedy their grievances. On a vote 354 ministers out of 465 present intimated their readiness to make the great sacrifice.

Peel's Government was fully informed as to what would happen if there were no concessions, but in January 1843 the reply came that no relief could be granted either as to patronage or the encroachments of the Court of Session. It is impossible not to agree with the judgment of the late Lord Balfour of Burleigh that 'had the Government been a strong one, or even had it appreciated the gravity of the situation, it could have satisfied by legislation the requirements of the Church without essential alteration in the terms of the alliance between Church and State.'*

In March there was a final attempt to avert the catastrophe. Fox Maule, a warm supporter of the Non-Intrusionists, moved in the House of Commons for a committee of inquiry but the motion was defeated by 211 votes to 76. A few days later the seven disobedient ministers of the Strathbogie Presbytery were successful in obtaining an injunction setting aside the sentence of deposition. Then on March 31 Lord Campbell brought forward a series of resolutions in the House of Lords. The demand for the abolition of patronage was declared 'unreasonable and unfounded,' while the claim to exclusive spiritual jurisdiction was 'unprecedented in any Christian Church since the Reformation' and 'inconsistent with the permanent welfare of the Church.' But the resolutions were rejected because they committed the House to abstract propositions. In any case Lord Campbell's interposition evinced little perception of the actualities, considering that the Church's whole case was that it had exclusive spiritual jurisdiction *under the law*.

On May 18 the Assembly met for the last time in its

* 'Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland,' 143.

undivided state. In spite of the vote of the convocation, there was still uncertainty as to how many would 'come out,' for it had yet to be shown how far the resolute policy of successive Assemblies would be endorsed by the whole Church.

When the historic proceedings opened Professor David Welsh, the retiring Moderator, immediately rose and explained that, owing to certain measures sanctioned by Government but regarded by many as a violation of the agreement between Church and State, the constitution of a free and legal Assembly was impossible. Then, amid unbroken silence, Dr Welsh read a protest, signed by 203 ministers and elders, affirming the right to secede from what they considered an unscriptural Establishment. Having tabled the protest, he bowed to the Lord High Commissioner (the Marquess of Bute) and left the building along with Chalmers and a large body of ministers and elders. Outside a procession was formed which marched to Tanfield Hall where was constituted the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Chalmers being Moderator.

The numerical strength of the party who surrendered their livings and forsook all for spiritual freedom was considerably larger than the vote given at the convocation, 474 ministers out of a total of 1203 signing the Deed of Demission. While this represented little more than a third of the whole Church, it must be remembered that those who seceded included the most influential in the undivided Establishment. 'It cannot be denied,' writes Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 'that the majority of the most zealous and active among both clergy and laity left the Church in 1843.' Moreover, every retiring minister was followed by a large portion of his congregation, and in some cases congregations abandoned pastors who failed to withdraw.

The stupendous task of planting Scotland with churches that would be in all spiritual matters entirely free from State interference was undertaken with vigour. Before the end of 1843 there were no fewer than seven hundred associations charged with raising the necessary funds which then prospectively amounted to nearly a quarter of a million. In short, the Free Church 'stood forth as a noble example of a self-sustaining, energetic, and

compact organisation, endeavouring to face national responsibilities on the highest Presbyterian principles.'

Unfortunately success engendered a feeling of superiority, even of unctuousness. With those who 'came out' the Disruption was almost a fetish, and others who failed to view it in any such light and had remained in the Establishment were regarded as little better than renegades. But their action implied no disloyalty to conscience. Some were animated by a quite genuine desire to retain for Scotland 'a sacred inheritance not to be surrendered even for the sake of vindicating the independence of the Church courts.*' In addition, they witnessed to aspects of truth apt to be obscured by prejudice and partial statement.

But when all is said, the Disruption was a noble vindication of religious principle, a sublime act of courage for the sake of conscience, an impressive reminder of the virility of Scottish Presbyterianism. 'For upwards of a century,' writes Hume Brown, 'the spectacle had been seen of two sections in the Church in chronic antagonism,' displaying 'an essential difference of spirit, which involved opposing conceptions of life, of doctrine, of spiritual agencies. Such being the relations of Moderates and Evangelicals, it was necessary and desirable that they should part company in the interests of the religion they both professed.†' And it must not be forgotten that the Disruption exerted an influence on evangelical religion that can hardly be over-estimated. 'It affected the whole course of Church development not only among the English-speaking peoples but in many parts of Europe and beyond.'

No fair-minded person, however, can survey the aftermath of the Disruption with pride. It created a breach that was not finally healed for eighty-six years, during which there were unedifying exhibitions of sectarian rancour. From time to time attempts were made by well-meaning people to bring about re-union, but as long as the Patronage Act remained on the statute book they were egregiously futile. Schism rather than re-union seemed to be the order of the day. Only gradually did the view obtain within the Established Church that the patronage

* J. R. Fleming, 'Church of Scotland,' 1843-1874, 30.

† 'History of Scotland,' III, 432.

system was an anachronism and was doing harm to the religious interests of the country. But once it had taken hold the abolition of patronage was seen to be a necessary step before the sundered forces of Scottish Presbyterianism could be brought together.

Accordingly, on May 18, 1874, the thirty-first anniversary of the Disruption, a bill to end patronage was introduced in the House of Lords and quickly passed through all its stages. In the discussions it was revealed that 348 petitions signed by 48,000 persons had been presented in favour of abolition, as against 64 petitions signed by 4,694 persons who were for preserving the *status quo*. The Act, which came into force on Jan. 1, 1875, vested the right of election to Church livings in the members of the congregation and such adherents as the ecclesiastical courts might decide to admit to the roll. It was also provided that if a congregation failed to exercise its power of choice within six months the presbytery could fill up the vacancy.

The Anti-Patronage Act was at best a compromise. True, it acknowledged the right of congregations to choose their ministers, but it did not wholly remove the grievances involved in State control. Still the measure was intended to hold out the olive branch and to restore the Establishment to the position it held prior to the Disruption. But the Act was framed in blissful ignorance of the fact that the point of view of Free Churchmen had altered. In 1843 they 'came out' as supporters of the Establishment principle, but in the intervening years there had been a gradual approximation to the position of the older Seceders (now the United Presbyterian Church), which was pure Voluntaryism. With the latter they joined in an agitation for the disestablishment and disendowment of the national Church. Thus the relations between the Establishment and the Free Church became more bitter than ever, whereas the Voluntary principle drew all Dissenters closer. In 1900 a culmination was reached when, after negotiations lasting a quarter of a century, a union took place between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. The effect was to make the United Free Church (as it was called) more powerful than the national Church. Be this as it may, the Free Church had taken a great risk in uniting with a body strongly opposed to a

State Church. Soon there was a rude awakening. Some thirty ministers and a small proportion of the members of the old Free Church refused to enter the union of 1900, and raised an action in the Court of Session, in which they sought to be declared the rightful holders in trust of the Free Church property.

The Scottish judges decided against them, but on appeal to the House of Lords the judgment of the lower court was reversed (1904) on the ground that the majority having modified the doctrine of the Confession and abandoned the Establishment principle had ceased to represent the Free Church of the Disruption. Consequently those who declined to join the United Presbyterians were entitled to the entire property of the undivided Free Church. As, however, there were 1,100 churches involved, likewise extensive property at home and abroad, the thirty Free Church ministers and their flocks, mostly Highland, were utterly unable to administer the trust. Whereupon a Parliamentary commission was appointed to allocate the property so that the purpose of the trust should be fulfilled. The result was that the greater part of the property, including most of the church buildings, was restored to the majority, now comprehended in the United Free Church.

Soon after the Lords' judgment the relations of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church became friendly, so much so that a movement for union was launched. The problem was to discover a means whereby the principles of national religion and spiritual independence could be combined. Various conferences were held, and in 1921 the Church of Scotland, on its own initiative, approached Parliament and ultimately obtained articles declaratory of the constitution of the Established Church in spiritual matters. One of these asserted in unequivocal terms the Church's corporate freedom and spiritual independence. Another affirmed that recognition by the civil authority of the separate government of the Church in spiritual matters did not affect the character of this jurisdiction as derived from the Divine Head of the Church alone, or give to the civil authority any right to interfere with the spiritual acts of the Church.

It was an outstanding event in ecclesiastical history. A Church anxious for reunion had successfully managed to

free itself from State entanglements which prevented that consummation. The Church of Scotland left to Parliament to decide what of her ancient heritage could be retained without inflicting unreasonable hardship or preserving undue privilege. By her relinquishment of exclusive rights she made possible the auspicious event of 1929 when the divisions caused first by the Seceders in the eighteenth century and then by the Non-Intrusionists in 1843 were at last ended. Thus the severed branches of the Scottish Church were happily reunited, and a career begun which, it is hoped, will mean much for the future of religion in Scotland.

W. FORBES GRAY.

Art. 4.—THE ONLY UNDISPUTED MONARCHY IN EUROPE.

(Harriet Countess Granville referring to Princess Lieven)

1. *The Lieven-Palmerston Correspondence*. Edited by Lord Sudley. John Murray.
2. *Private Letters of Princess Lieven to Metternich*. Edited by Peter Quennell. John Murray.
3. *Diaries of Princess Lieven*. Edited by Professor Temperley. Jonathan Cape.
4. *Princess Lieven*. By Montgomery Hyde. Harrap & Co.

Note.—Numbers to quotations indicate from which of the above sources they have been drawn.

NEARLY a century after her death (1857), the legend of Dorothea Lieven still retains its power to interest lovers of nineteenth-century history, and it also compels the attention of all those to whom human nature presents a study of unending fascination. For these reasons, the recent publication of all the letters which passed between Princess Lieven and Emily Cowper, later Lady Palmerston, is something more than a literary event. This correspondence covers the years 1828–56; only fifty of its three

hundred pages contain matter written before Dorothea's departure from England.

The bulk of the letters were composed after the shipwreck of her official life; written from the Continent where skilfully but painfully she toiled to build up that semi-official presence, which, even when she was over seventy and dying, was still sufficiently awe-inspiring to arouse fear in the mind of Britain's Prime Minister and move him to vindictive action. They testify to her constant concern for the welfare of M. Guizot's political schemes, to her unending capacity for keeping her fingers pressed upon the pulse of European affairs, but, above all, they are a revelation of her character; and perhaps as such they will come to be counted amongst the most interesting of her papers.

Living, as we do, in a century uniquely unpropitious to the emergence of great and original personalities, it is peculiarly hard for us to conceive what kind of a person the Lieven really was. The list of her reputed achievements is staggering, and, admittedly, there came a time when most happenings in the realm of international affairs were, by some, attributed to her agency. Certainly legend must have outstripped fact, nor was Dorothea inclined to subtract from the legend; on the contrary, she nursed it and was determined to consolidate it, in her own time, by open hints, and for posterity, in her diaries and political sketches. Belief in her power did a lot to create the reality, and power meant much to her, though, after reading these new letters, we can no longer conclude that it meant everything to her. How real in fact was her influence? When every allowance is made for embroidery, affection, and fear, we are left to contemplate certain facts and to discover an explanation for her part in them.

It seems to have been at her suggestion that Lord Dudley and later Lord Palmerston were called to the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

After years of enmity it was she who persuaded George IV to overcome his personal prejudice and offer Canning the Premiership.

The first suggestion of the return of Louis XVIII to the throne of France was whispered to the Emperor Alexander by the Princess.

Very nearly, so it was said, she succeeded in establishing the Prince of Orange upon the throne of Belgium; more nearly still, Prince Leopold upon the throne of Greece. Such at least was the belief of her contemporaries.

There is no speculation about the fact that, in 1826, she was personally charged by the Emperor Alexander with the task of weaning England from her existing alliances and bringing her into the orbit of Russia; and this alteration in policy did, in fact, take place. As a consequence, we might say that Greek freedom owed something to her activities. Certainly Greece's boundaries were first drawn out by Lord Grey for her edification and approval. After such high matters, it was a trivial affair to persuade the British Prime Minister to erase the awkward noun 'War' from that part of the King's speech which referred to the rebellion of the Polish Patriots, and replace it by the more fluid term 'Contest' in a second draft.

In face of such a record, we must concede that it was mere prudence on the part of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs to require her to amplify her husband's official despatches by reports of her own. And we can well understand the reaction of the astonished Emperor, when seeing her again after a long absence, he exclaimed to her brother, 'I left your sister a young woman, I have found her a stateswoman.' Such then were her enterprises before those months of tragedy which caused her life to fall into two, almost unrelated, parts. In the latter half, beyond the education and sustaining of M. Guizot in his political rôle, the only major event which was said to have owed its origin to the Princess' invention was the affair of the Spanish marriages, whereby, so it had seemed, the succession to the throne of Spain would by the laws of Nature be secured to the progeny of a French Prince. If all this is true, or even partly true, to what can we attribute Dorothea's extraordinary influence? In what currency did she pay the piper? And even if we make large reservations in our minds in respect of her achievements, we still have to recognise that she stood in a unique relationship to most of the outstanding personages of her day.

She won the confidence of the Emperor Alexander at a time in which his mystic idealism and his pathological

melancholy had turned him into a recluse. Unalarmed by her very worldly presence, he poured out to her his plans for the reintegration of Europe upon a Christian basis and sought her cooperation in the realisation of his ideal.

Metternich, realist and reactionary, trusted her completely and conveyed his intimate thoughts and hopes to her in a daily journal.

George IV, 'Weary,' as she wrote, 'of all the joys of life, having only taste, not one true sentiment,'(3) half-mad and wholly incoherent, would startle his Ministers by announcing that only Madame de Lieven fully understood his aims.

At the opposite pole of human character, the Duke of Wellington, 'an original man, proud, simple, and great'(3) and, as she records, utterly disgusted by the fripperies of the egregious Pavilion 'Devil take me, I think I must have got into bad company'; even he dissociated Dorothea from her surroundings, talked freely with her, and for a time wrote to her constantly.

To the sensitive and tormented mind of Londonderry her robust confidence was a daily reassurance. 'If only I could see you every day.'(2)

Grey, aloof and high-minded, consulted with her whilst even Aberdeen and Peel unbent in her company.

As for Canning, whose career she had for so long tried to break, and whose ambition she had afterwards served; he met her on the plane of humour and irony. She fascinated him, but it is doubtful if he ever liked her. She herself was certainly no blind friend; of her intimates she always retained a detached and rather malicious judgment and her portraits are not those of unqualified flattery.

Grey is wonderful in the House: 'His voice has the resonance of bronze, his gestures are always noble; it is impossible not to respect him when he speaks,'(2) but 'He eats too many sweets.' . . . 'He is bilious, his impaired digestion makes him so ill-tempered and ruins all his chances.'(2)

Even in the description of Harriet Granville, her greatest friend, there is a sly but convincing thrust at the habits of the wives of some British diplomats: 'She understands everything, folly as well as wit. She puts everything in its place and in its right proportion with a tact, a readiness, and a simplicity that are quite delightful.

...'(2) *But*, she does not exert herself, but reclines in her armchair 'having singularly simplified the duties of an Ambassadress.'

Of ladies of lesser virtue, such as the Hertford, Jersey, and Conyngham with whom she was, from interested motives, on the best of terms, she was unsparing in her sarcasm. She was not charitable, she was anything but beautiful, yet when she began her new life in Paris, after having turned her half century, Talleyrand, to whom humanity had shown itself in all its most brilliant colours and guises, still considered her a delightful companion and a person of real distinction; neither Thiers nor Molé could afford to ignore her, and Guizot dedicated the rest of his life to her.

She had wit and intuition, but some other attribute must be found to explain her political and personal success—was it due perhaps to a unique knowledge of human nature? For is not this knowledge the root of all state-craft, is it not the wisdom which makes reactions almost always predictable whilst being at the same time the measuring rod of the possible; thereby, in the public eye, converting politicians into prophets, with an appropriate halo of prestige. Because she understood people, Princess Lieven nearly always knew what they would do under any given circumstances, and, as a result, events seldom took her by surprise, so that in time her contemporaries came more and more to rely upon her judgment.

English reactions must be particularly hard for a Russian temperament to assess, but after twenty-two years' residence amongst us she identifies herself at times with our nation. At a moment of extreme tension between the British and Dutch she exclaims in an *ex-cathedra* tone worthy of a Victoria: 'It is not English to make war upon Holland,' and the nineteenth-century Englishman is of her opinion. She admires our political institutions with reservations, as when she writes to Metternich:

'I believe England is perhaps at this moment still the only country that deserves such a constitution. But don't imagine that I have turned liberal again; all I mean to say is that an intelligent man ought to wish to be an Englishman.'(2) And again: 'What a strange country!

What a strange and beautiful thing a Constitution is ! What a mixture of justice and abuses, what contrasts everywhere and in everything, and yet what a fine harmony results from all these contrasts. You do not feel drawn towards Constitutions. But you must let me go on liking them in the form sanctified by the English weather and the English fog. . . . In forty years' time, the whole of Europe will be constitutional. You will hold out among the last, but you will be included.'(2)

Some of our ways she thinks abominable. 'The wrongs of the lower classes need a remedy. The aristocracy rolls in wealth and luxury while the streets of London, the highways of the country, swarm with miserable creatures covered with rags, bare-footed, having neither food nor shelter. The sight of this contrast is revolting. . . .'(2) 'The intention of the (Poor) Law is doubtless philanthropic but its result is inhuman. . . .'(2)

Almost always she finds us rather ridiculous but lovably so.

'The English learn latin but they do not learn the art of living. . . .' And that undying old perennial—the entertainment to raise funds for Spanish revolutionaries fills her with amusement. 'A great nation which can find no better way of showing its enthusiasm and its sympathy for another nation than by collecting a few guineas for entry to a ball is really a ridiculous spectacle.'(2)

Her judgment was not only acute, it was also often singularly detached. Had she not, as a young married woman, removed herself from St Petersburg so as not to be burdened with the sight of the popular celebrations at the time of the Treaty of Tilsit. A peace of which she disapproved.

Her imperial master wavered between an atavistic inclination towards despotism and the liberal ideals of democracy instilled into his young mind by M. de la Harpe, but Dorothea was unaffected by doctrinaire theories, idealistic or otherwise. She believed, I think, that all men of good will and good sense must desire the maintenance of exterior peace and internal justice and of that balance of power which tends to make peace practicable. And wherever she saw forces working towards this end she urged her master to support them. She cared little for the ideological labels which they bore. Far too

mature to anticipate the realisation of the New Jerusalem which Alexander foresaw, her creed consisted in getting to know the materials to hand, measuring the likely strains and stresses and, in the light of this knowledge, advising upon the possibilities of the political edifice which might be erected from them. She had no patience with those who first conceived the plan and only afterwards inspected the material. And she certainly believed that the intentions of a government were of more importance than its form. Yet, supremely intelligent as she appeared to her contemporaries, she failed in her personal life by her own criterion—'Real intelligence consists in being happy and I am not happy.'(2)

Boredom pursued her. As early as 1823 she writes: 'I feel far from well again. Can it be that I am going into a decline; is it that I am merely bored? All the same it would be stupid to die of boredom. Europe and Society go on without me, I no longer inquire what is happening. . . .'(2) The Duchesse de Dino had said of her: '... no person of ability had ever less resources within herself than she.' And she seems to have judged rightly.

Illness, of which Dorothea had more than her share, was torture to her. It was all right when she could announce 'My husband and I are ill . . . we will persevere and re-appear.'(2) It was when such simple cures failed and a journey to Italy was prescribed that the horrors of *ennui* became quite unendurable.

From Milan she writes: 'My mind will turn to marble like those statues in the Cathedral. What an idea to put up so many . . . more than the entire population of a German Duchy.'(2)

Her field of interest was singularly limited, she cared only for people and politics, she was dead to all the arts, except music, and curiously insensible to history.

Such at least seem to be the conclusions we can draw from her letters to Lady Palmerston. Here we find phrases devoid of the glitter of her earlier writing. Sentences very different to those in which she expressed herself during the twenty-two years in which she dominated London and pervaded Europe. By the implacable enmity of Palmerston, her life was severed at a blow into two parts. In one act he ended her whole existence.

It was an ungrateful act, for her influence had certainly shortened his path to the Foreign Office. But gratitude, a difficult virtue at the best of times, seems to have been particularly difficult to harbour in relation to Princess Lieven. Londonderry had known this. When he had recognised that he and his wife owed a long-deferred invitation to a Court function to the Russian Ambassadress, the first symptoms of his final collapse had become apparent. He had made a terrible scene with Dorothea and had reproached her as for an unbearable insult. Palmerston's reactions were slower and of a different order. Deliberately he planned to send Stratford Canning as Ambassador to Moscow, a man personally hateful to the Emperor Nicholas. The inevitable followed, as Palmerston knew that it must: Russia's frontiers were closed to the British envoy and Russian pride withdrew the Lievens from London. The Princess' departure was terrible. Palmerston was not invited to any of the farewell parties, but in the end his official position obliged him to give one of his own. It was a hideous affair. Dorothea and Emily Cowper were nearly demolished by it and only the Viscount seemed completely at ease. Not even the bracelet subscribed for by all the leading hostesses of London could console Dorothea, her lamentations rent the skies. But she went. Her friends were too much affected to see her off. Mr Sneyd's verses, written on the occasion of her previous visit to Russia, now seemed a mockery:

'She is gone as the Herald announces
To latitudes wilder and colder.
She is gone with her pearls and her flounces
She is gone with her bows on her shoulder.'

To Lady Cowper she made no secret of her distress, writing from Lübek.

'I want to send you my love once more while I am still in Europe. That is a frightful thing to say, I implore you not to repeat my remark. . . . Oh, God! How I love everything I have left behind.'(1) Nor did she show any hesitation in acquainting Lord Palmerston's best friend with her views on his behaviour. 'Do you wonder that I have no friendly feelings towards the man who has brought such misery upon me.'(1) Unfortunately,

Princess Lieven had been away from Russia too long to find it possible to readjust her life to very different standards. She refers sadly to :

'Our innocent life of simple barbarian pleasures.' To her 'beautiful prison' and to her 'shabby little parties.'(1) But more often she speaks of London and of her English friends, 'You must and shall not forget me. What terrifies me most of all is that everybody should forget me simultaneously.'(1)

The very sight of St Petersburg filled her with foreboding and recalled old and sinister memories. Her earliest recollections were of the Court of Paul I, and surely no such fantastic nightmare has ever really happened in time.

Dorothea had known a society in which the common law was inoperative and in which a tyrant's whim was a death sentence. Perhaps her worship of the great had first arisen as an act of sheer self-preservation.

When such early impressions are taken into account, it is not altogether to be wondered at that she was never quite understandable to her 'European' contemporaries, for she knew certain crude realities of which their guarded minds would always be unaware. Certainly these oriental memories crowded in upon her mind at the time of her return to St Petersburg and the very smell of Russia filled her with a foreboding which was to be tragically justified. The first month destroyed her health for life and saw the almost simultaneous deaths of her two younger sons,* to whom she was passionately devoted. The horror which she now conceived of her country and the state of her health made her continued residence in Russia impossible. And this circumstance had the further effect of bringing her relationship with her husband to disaster. As Governor to the Tsarevitch, Prince Lieven had achieved the summit of his limited ideals, in addition, he was only too delighted to find himself at last in a position in which his wife's brilliant talents were unable to outshine his own mediocre capacities. Dorothea might go where she liked ; but, under no circumstances, would he resign his post. During her years of power perhaps the Duchesse de Dino

* Most of the material for pages 49—50 is taken from Montgomery Hyde's 'Life of Princess Lieven' and page 52 from Daudet's 'Vie d'une Ambassadrice.'

alone had recognised that, beneath the allures of a Sphinx and the activities of a Machiavelli, Princess Lieven harboured a very vulnerable and undisciplined heart. She had been unfaithful to her husband, but, after a fashion, she had loved him; he had become a care and a habit and certainly she had counted upon him as a permanent factor in her life. Now she was outraged at his callousness. But he remained implacable. He took her to the frontier and there he said goodbye to her, as it proved, for ever. Thus deprived of her official position; separated by death or absence from her family, without a background, and (since she had incurred the Emperor Nicholas' displeasure by her departure) without a country, it was a moment in which her letters to Lady Cowper were likely to be revealing of her true character—and this they are. Her grief was without reticence and it is unnecessary to quote from these unhappy outbursts. Lady Cowper was kind, very kind, for a time; then, patently, she became both bored and apprehensive; a dreadful fear came to her that Dorothea in her frenzied search for sympathy and distraction might bring her troubles to England and spread the gloom of the Steppe over London. Worse still, since old habits are hard to discard, she might try her hand once more at the game of politics.

'I believe that your memories are still too fresh and that it would break your heart to retain them. It is much better to keep England in your mind's eye as a place to return to when the bitterness of your grief has abated . . .'
(1) wrote Emily in a panic.

This met with no reply and so she followed it up with the tentative inquiry, 'Can it possibly be that you are offended with me for advising you to postpone your journey here. . . .'(1)

Dorothea's answer was decisive. 'It is indeed a long time since I wrote to you and I applaud your decision. Had I written on the spur of the moment after receiving your letter of the 21st I would have regretted it later. . . . Have the goodness not to mention the matter again.'(1)

Indeed her friends were well meaning but, for an intelligent woman, she tried them very highly, so that eventually exasperation predominated in their minds over all other feelings. But now, in Paris, she had met Guizot, 'austere and brilliantly intellectual,' himself on

the threshold of success, but familiar already with sorrow and disillusioned of all material values. He alone loved her sufficiently to bear the continued burden of her outcries. Very firmly, in phrases of exquisite French, he explained her to herself. The Dino had spoken of her as 'a great spoilt child.' Guizot probed the matter more gently.

'Until then you had known neither unhappiness nor misfortune. You had borne no burden. . . . Even your deepest emotions had been comparatively superficial. . . . Therefore when the blow fell you experienced a great reaction of surprise, and an interior revolt which are the characteristics of early sorrow, but you had no longer the resilience of youth whereby to make your escape. . . . And so you have remained fixed in this surprise. Sorrow came to you late but found you still inexperienced in suffering. . . .'

With a certain humility Dorothea accepted his judgment; his affection she knew to be proof against all the outrages of boredom and egoism, and for the last twenty years of her life she lived only for him. That she rendered him many services is evident from her letters to Lady Palmerston, but there were ingrained prejudices and values which she could never discard. 'They say that you are going to marry M. Guizot?'

'My dear, can you hear me being announced as Mme Guizot?'

Decidedly there were unworthy traits about the Lieven which nothing that Fate wreaked upon her could efface.

Meanwhile Lady Cowper was worried about Dorothea's notorious friendship—was she concerned for her reputation? Or did she fear that the Princess was about to make a re-entry into the arena of politics? She wrote to her friend on the subject but not with much success and finally bowed to the inevitable 'What can't be cured must be endured. . . . I know that it would be better for you and for him if this intimacy should cease, but if this is impossible, then let us forget the whole matter, I shall no longer interfere.'(1) But soon it was Dorothea who regained Em's intervention. Her husband's heartlessness had expressed itself in a complete absence of all letters except for one threat to cut off her income. As a result of this silence she had no knowledge of the death of her

son Constantine until a letter which she had sent him many months before was returned to her with the single word 'Dead' written across the envelope. Yet Prince Lieven had been aware of the boy's death for a considerable time. So now Dorothea's friends were as outraged as she was, and several, amongst them Lady Cowper, offered to write to the Prince; who though he had, according to his wife, lost all fear of God and sense of justice, was, so she thought, still very vulnerable to the judgment of the world.

These occurrences took place in 1838. But the Lieven was quite unpredictable in her reactions, and, a year later, when her husband died, her grief was apparently uncontrollable. Moreover, she was exceedingly angry because letters of condolence failed to pour in from her English friends.

Em tried to pacify her with the sensible explanation: 'Beyond the outward coldness of manner between yourself and your husband, the world in general knew nothing of your relationship to each other during the past few years; they imagined it to be even worse than it was. For this reason no one knew exactly in what spirit to write to you—although they knew you well enough to realise that whatever wrong he had done you, you would not be able to part with him without suffering and great unhappiness.'(1) Dorothea accepted the explanation dubiously.

In the same year there occurred another event which made the relationship between the two women one of extreme delicacy, for Lady Cowper now married her old friend and the Princess' old enemy: Lord Palmerston.

Dorothea took the fence bravely, announcing for the guidance of her friends, '*I am now married to Lord Palmerston!*'

To Em she writes: 'Dearest, you have done a very sensible thing. . . . May God bless your marriage.'(1)

A good many letters now are concerned with small matters; Lady Palmerston sends her friend a pair of waterproof soles for her shoes and consoles her by remarking that when Dorothea was entertaining in London she was 'the undisputed Queen of Wednesdays' but that since her departure 'the day has now become a republic.'(1) Princess Lieven replies with the strange tale

of Mr Damer who, in an endeavour to rejuvenate himself, sleeps in sheets soaked in cold water and, miraculously, develops nothing worse than the gout.

She disclaims any return to power and declares 'I am enjoying the pleasures of my nullity.'⁽¹⁾ But, in fact, she was not enjoying them at all. In any case the year 1840 saw an important alteration in her situation, for M. Guizot was sent to London as France's Ambassador, and, inevitably, Dorothea decided to spend a few weeks with the Duchess of Sutherland, in order to guide his first steps in the capital which she knew so well. The visit was not at all a success. Very far away indeed seemed the rollicking days of George IV. Queen Victoria, warned by Lehzen against 'Princess Lieven and such like people,' was hostile. Worse, still, poor Dorothea, never having plumbed the depths of her fall, quite unwittingly misled M. Guizot in rather an important matter. It was the time of Mehemet Ali's rebellion and, to the horrified ears of the French Ambassador, came rumours of an understanding between Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria of which France had not been informed. But Princess Lieven assured him blandly that these tales must be false, since if anything had been afoot she must have known of it. To be faced a few weeks later by the Convention of London was bitter indeed. But the year held also other and better fruit for her. With the fall of Thiers, the Anglophil Guizot was called upon to form a Ministry, and once more Madame de Lieven became a person of undeniable consequence. That Palmerston should go out of office about the same time must have been an additional source of satisfaction. Without losing a moment, Dorothea proceeded to renew her links with Peel and Aberdeen and the rest of her Tory friends.

As months passed, Lady Palmerston became keenly critical of Guizot's plans. What could France want with these formidable new fortifications? Surely, she surmises with English logic, fortifications breed war? And then, with English pride, she adds that Great Britain is so sure of peace that she is disarming as rapidly as possible. It is Dorothea's turn to be benignly condescending: 'Can we not have our political differences? . . . I have been fond of you for so long that I do not think I can ever change.'⁽¹⁾ The Princess was almost back to her old form.

Credited again with the making and unmaking of Ambassadors and restored to such a position as to make M. Thiers, reproached with negligence, remark that when she left the Ministry he would call on her. But Dorothea had not forgotten her cold treatment at the hands of Queen Victoria and she has some sharp comments to make to Lady Palmerston on the changes in London life. 'All the English visitors, without exception, tell me that Prince Albert is exceedingly unpopular, the Queen also, and that both of them are extremely rude. I must admit this was my own impression. . . . Your Sovereigns used not to be like that.'(1)

By the time Palmerston came back into office, in 1846, the correspondence had grown a little shrill.

But now, in the teeth of the jaunty Viscount, Guizot pulled off the coup of the Spanish marriages. If this was really of Dorothea's devising she must have felt adequately avenged for all the humiliation she had suffered at the time of the Convention of London. Em refers to 'a subject which is so distressing for all lovers of France and of the *entente cordiale*,'(1) but she does not associate Dorothea with its conception.

Two more years of power were given to the Princess, then, before the horrors of the Commune, she fled to England, impersonating the wife of an English painter.

On her arrival in London she was much relieved to discover that Guizot was already in the town. Together they went down to Brighton; there across a dilapidated background of fantasy, grown in its abandonment grotesque and rather indecent, they wandered about seemingly more unreal than their memories. And suddenly a ghost still in the flesh crossed Dorothea's path; for here was also Prince Metternich, infirm and like herself an exile. The Princess was not charitable towards her former lover, she found him a bore, and she resented his third wife. It must indeed have been a strange reunion of these three old people who had once seemed to hold the destiny of nations in their hands.

When the revolution had subsided, Princess Lieven went thankfully back to Paris to inhabit the rooms where Talleyrand had lived and died. And who shall say that there was not an affinity between them? Now, following his example, she was ever faithful to the rising sun and

Louis Napoleon received her warmest praise. Later, his future wife was sent for her inspection; so, after all, Dorothea was again a person of some consequence.

But these years of peace and contentment were not to last. For a long time she had dreaded a clash between the three nations she loved best and finally came the Crimean War. All Russian nationals were ordered to leave Paris and Dorothea made her reluctant way to Brussels—and how she hated it. Twice she wrote to Lady Palmerston but received no reply—a third time she took up her pen: ‘Do you definitely refuse to write to me any more, dearest? Do you take me for a Cossack? or do you despise me because I am so unlike a Cossack?’ (1) Em replied in a friendly vein and Dorothea was emboldened to ask Lord Palmerston to speak on her behalf to the Emperor regarding her return to Paris. Afterwards she was told that he had spoken, but not at all in the sense which she anticipated. She wrote bitterly to Em: ‘I am dying here. I told you six weeks ago, and I tell you so with greater conviction to-day. I spit blood, I have severe liver attacks, my strength is ebbing away. . . . I asked permission to return a short time ago. The Emperor Napoleon very graciously gave his consent, but immediately afterwards I was told England had raised serious objections, that they suspected me of some political design, in my wish to return. The Emperor has suddenly retracted his expressions of good will. . . . I am merely appealing to your sense of humanity. . . . If I went to Paris and put myself in the power of my enemy, how could I be an object of suspicion to any one?’ (1)

Em was not to be moved, she defended the ban though she denied that her husband had had any part in its imposition. ‘I myself agree that in present circumstances the Emperor should not allow Russian ladies to live in Paris. . . . It is true that in Paris the Salons have a great influence and any Russian Salon must necessarily be hostile to the close alliance between our two constitutional countries.’ (1) This seems to be the last letter which Lady Palmerston wrote to the Princess. But two years later, after her return to Paris, Dorothea wrote to her old friend on the occasion of her son Lord Cowper’s death. The letter ends with these words: ‘Allow me to

send you all my love as I did in the days when you were still fond of me.'(1) No reply has been found.

In the following year Princess Lieven died ; M. Guizot was with her all day and Paul, her youngest surviving son.

She was very calm and still executive, arranging her household affairs with precision ; then, having fulfilled her religious duties, she desired, perhaps for the first time in her life, to be left alone, and died alone. Her last wishes were eloquent of the psychological problem which she presents : M. Guizot was to have her carriage, it had always worried her that he had no carriage ; her body was to be taken to Courland to be buried beside those of her younger children ; her funeral service was to be of the simplest ; *but*, she wished to be buried in full evening dress with a diamond tiara on her head.

I fancy that, however many more papers are published which may throw light upon her political activities, Dorothea Lieven will continue to present a human problem.

MARJORIE VILLIERS.

Art. 5.—FORESTRY IN THE FUTURE.

THERE is a good deal of misconception or ignorance about what forestry is. The general public thinks it is something to do with cutting down trees ; some people may be so far enlightened as to know that it has something to do with the planting of trees. But there is much more in forestry than that. Trees constitute a crop, the product being timber, and the forester's task is to produce the best possible crop both as regards quantity and quality in the shortest possible time, prepared in every way to meet the needs of industry. To secure this he has to use science and to a very great extent art and a thorough knowledge of Nature. That he has to use art is said purposely, for except for carrying out the ordinary routine work of the forest some people never make really good foresters, since they have not got that ' something ' in them which makes

them carry on the general nurture of a forest crop. They have not got feeling or sympathy for the trees which is essential in a good forester.

British people have probably got this inborn feeling for trees to a much greater degree than most. They have, however, lacked the scientific training. Strange as it may seem, despite the fact that Britain is not even yet and never has been a forest country in the sense that Sweden or Finland are forest countries, we have produced some fine foresters—men who have managed woodlands well, produced fine timber, and have become world famous in their profession.

The British love for trees has shown itself in one particular direction. We are explorers and collectors, with the result that we have in this country a variety in trees unequalled anywhere. Our great nurseries have sent out paid and unpaid collectors into all parts of the world; private individuals have adopted tree collecting as a hobby. The result has been far reaching, for it is not too much to say that practically every tree that grows has been tried out in this country. Some have become our most important timber trees, such as Sitka spruce and hemlock from America, larch from Japan, and pine, larch and spruce from Europe. Others are grown as yet only for their beauty and are to be found in park and policy wood. They have yet to be tried out as timber trees and there is no doubt that many will be proved eminently satisfactory. Amongst them we have trees from the Himalayas, the Mediterranean countries, including North Africa, and even Australia and New Zealand, for we have eucalyptus growing at Loch Hour in the Highlands and southern beech in many parts of the west country. Others have remained more or less of general interest, never growing well but remaining alive and green, though subject to the frost and cold of our climate. Some have found conditions so unsuited to them that they have disappeared, but nevertheless they have been tried, and the experience has been interesting and profitable. Thus it is true that nowhere in the world will be found foresters who know and have had experience of so many trees. Germany, for instance, is a forest country, but the general forest officer in Germany knows but a limited number of trees compared to his British counterpart.

We have got many trees to choose from, when we come to plant. We will, except in the very worst soils and conditions, always find a suitable tree for our soils and climate are good for tree growth. This is not the cold frost-bound snow-clad land that many foreigners believe it is. We have got everything in the way of temperature and moisture to allow trees to flourish, in fact our trouble with some of them, such as the Douglas fir, is that they grow too fast.

It has already been stated that Britain is not a forest country. We do not grow timber for commerce on a great scale. Why? It is because we have always been able to procure all we need in the way of timber cheaply and easily from abroad. The only times when forestry has prospered here have been in and immediately after national emergencies, such as a war, when we had to depend on our own resources and we needed timber badly. In the time of the Armada there was a great demand for oak. In the time of Napoleon there was a similar urgent desire to produce trees, not only oak but other species as well. In the last war many people said that this would be the end of our apathy to tree growing for we were almost dependent on our own resources. In the present war we are more than ever having to find our timber at home, and already we have the cry that forestry will have to develop out of all recognition in the years following the war so that never in the future will we stand a chance of being defeated through lack of this essential commodity.

After the last war forestry did develop. The Government set up the Forestry Commission which has been responsible for covering our land with trees to the tune of well over 300,000 acres. That body within its limits has done well, but it has always suffered heavily when any cuts in grants had to be made. This happened seriously in 1923 and 1931. Those responsible for the cuts in grants failed utterly to realise that money spent in tree planting would be repaid with interest in the years to come, and was well spent money, much more so indeed than much of it which was put into other schemes.

Nevertheless, despite the lessons of the past, there were many antagonists to forestry and they were able to carry a great deal of weight. One argument invariably used was that the age of wood belonged to the past. Now this was

a clear case of being misinformed or of failure to find out the truth or refusal to see the true state of affairs. The age of wood is not past and never will be as a glance at the Board of Trade returns for the past several years would show. The quantity of timber coming into this country has been mounting annually. Just before the war we imported 80,000,000 lb. worth each year.

People may have been misled through timber not being used in every case as timber. The uses of wood have altered, but the need for wood persists and will persist. We speak of ships no longer being built of wood. They are steel ships. Nevertheless in every ship there is much timber and timber is needed in its construction. In the luxury liners of peace-time the percentage of wood is high. Even in a 10,000 ton cruiser there are 2,000 tons of wood. Does the man in the street every time he picks up his much prized newspaper realise that it is made from wood? In peace-time it is estimated that close on 1,000 acres of forests are needed daily to make the daily papers of this country. Immense quantities are required to manufacture artificial silk goods of all kinds, and ladies should therefore be the foremost advocates of forestry. Producer-gas from wood and charcoal may drive motor cars. It is already doing so in many countries. The easy running of our railways is in no small measure due to the wooden sleepers. Two thousand of these sleepers, each of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet of timber, are needed for each mile of railway. This represents about three acres of first-class forest. If we think how many miles of railway we have in this country it will be readily seen how much timber we need for this alone. And the sleepers have to be replaced every 10-15 years! Despite its competitors, wood still remains popular for furniture. Wood is warm and beautiful and, unlike its rivals, the older it gets the warmer, more mellow, and prettier it becomes. There is also endless variety in its texture and colour. It never tires!

In considering forestry it would seem as if one very important question were answered, namely, is forestry essential to the future welfare of the nation. The answer must surely be unanimously in the affirmative. Let us imagine what would have happened now if the antagonists of afforestation had won the day in the years following the last war. If they had, we could never have

supplied the wood for making the thousand and one things required in modern warfare either by the Forces or by industry. Above all how could we have supplied the pit-wood so that we can get the coal for industry and household warmth, for the wooden pit prop still reigns supreme despite concrete and steel rivals. We can almost say now that the opponents of forestry were fifth columnists of the worst type. It is to be hoped that after the war they will not be able to raise their voices in the slightest without being dealt with as enemies of the nation. They must be made to realise that forestry must go on. We must not be hoodwinked by idealists into believing that there will be no more wars. We have learned our lesson. It has been a bitter lesson.

But forests are also a peace-time asset despite the fact that we are able to get much timber from abroad. This is an important point. Business will in all probability rule the day once peace descends on this earth of ours, and business will get its timber where it is best and cheapest. If forestry is to hold its own here our products must be able to compete on equal terms with the foreign. We must be able to produce as cheaply and provide as satisfactory or even more satisfactory products than our foreign competitors. This is where we have failed in the past. We had not only an insufficiency of timber to supply a given market, but what we did have was unequal to enter the home markets because it was inferior in quality and dearer than foreign produce.

Now what mistake did we make? There were many contributing causes to our high prices and unsatisfactory produce, causes which must be removed in our future forestry work.

After 1919 afforestation went ahead. Previous to that we planted a good deal of woodlands but nothing on the scale that we should have done. We must aim at getting two to three million acres of land under trees, and these woodlands must not be left to develop anyhow, such as happened in the past. At one time it was thought, and the idea still seems to hold, that trees can grow anywhere. This is not true. Trees will grow in what looks like almost hopeless places, but they will not grow into timber trees. We have paid far too much attention to land which should never have been even considered for planting.

The Forestry Commission Reports themselves condemn the policy in the past twenty years, for about one-half of the land acquired for afforestation is unplantable and much of what has been planted should never have been used. We have learned from bitter experience that the peat and heath lands and the deer forests to a great extent are not able to produce tree crops of any kind. If the millions of trees which have been planted in such sites had been placed in better soils or even slightly better soils we should have had more pitwood available to-day. It gives cause to wonder how many acres have had to be replanted and how many acres have completely failed during the past twenty years !

This leads to one thing that must happen before long, namely the undertaking of a strict survey of the land of this country by an independent, disinterested body of experts who will allot land to its most economic use. Agriculture will have its allotment and forestry its share, but not the poorest and filthiest in the country.

Actually there was no reason why the Forestry Commission should have proceeded to get by lease or purchase the worst land. The reasonable method should have been to have restocked the 485,000 acres of forest laid bare in the last war. Instead, these were left to the mercy of the owners who, except in a few isolated cases, failed entirely in their responsibility. It was said that the private owners did not have the money. Yet extraordinary prices were paid for timber in the last war and probably the mistake made then was that a certain percentage of the proceeds was not by compulsion set aside to pay for the replanting. The same is happening again and one would have thought that benefiting from the experience of 1914-18 some scheme would have been put into operation whereby a percentage of all profits was set aside to restock denuded areas. This has not been done, and unless drastic measures are adopted many hundred thousand acres of our woodland areas will lie derelict.

These derelict areas already have a forest soil. In dealing with new land a forest soil has to be created. To get the best results the Government will probably resort to giving grants towards replanting. An Authority may be set up, a body quite distinct from the Forestry Commission, which will see to it that the private owner does

plant. If the private owner fails, the land may be taken over by the Authority on some arrangement regarding the paying back of costs out of profits. Some scheme must be devised, for one thing is certain, namely that in the future no land must be allowed to be idle when a reserve of timber is so much needed.

One hopeful sign is that the two great Forestry Societies of this country, namely the Royal Scottish and the Royal English Forestry Societies, are at present engaged in considering the position with regard to private woodlands. The proposal of a separate Forest Authority for private woodlands receives much support. The Authority would not only see to the planting of private land, but would be concerned with the management of the forests either directly or by seeing that trained men were in charge of forests. It would see that all land was fully productive, that the forests were thinned regularly at short intervals, and that the produce was marketed to the best advantage. It would mean the drawing up of schemes of planting, thinning, and harvesting. It would be so arranged that produce of the required kind came on the market in more or less equal amounts or increasing amounts every year, so that merchants and others would know that their supplies were guaranteed both as regards quantity and kind.

It may be asked—Has this not been done in the past? The answer is No. We have planted trees but there has been no attempt to bring these trees to maturity so that there would be the greatest possible crop of the finest quality in the shortest possible time. The motto 'aye be sticking in a tree, it will be growing while you are sleeping' has been accepted and worked on. Trees cannot be left to themselves. Only unenlightened or ignorant people believe so nowadays. We have to watch and tend. We have to remove those which are not suitable. Some may be occupying too much space—the so-called 'wolves'—while others may be whipping or otherwise destroying those which have the making of first-class trees—the so-called 'whips.' We have to get rid of all badly formed trees and any of a bad type from the point of view of ultimate utilisation. Trees which are diseased have to be taken out. We have to arrange our woodlands so that they get every possible protection from fire and from wind,

for these two can do much harm. We have to get rid of rabbits, squirrels, deer, and other pests which destroy our trees. All this has never been done properly in this country except in isolated cases.

Probably some one will say that this planting up of private woodland will give us forests which form too small units for working economically. We should rather proceed to afforesting great tracts of land such as we get on our moors and mountains. But are we not making a fetish of having our forests in great blocks? A study of the shelterbelts and farm woodlots of Canada might give us cause to think otherwise. There forestry pays even although the woodlands are in small often isolated patches. Nowadays, too, extraction and conversion have reached such a stage that we need not fear scattered or even isolated woodlands.

Many people look with dread on the extensive and intensive tree planting which may be envisaged, in that it tends to destroy the amenities of the countryside. They picture the day when the beauty spots of this country will be no longer open to them. They see the future countryside as a great monotonous blot of trees surrounded by netting and barbed-wire fences. The public which likes the great open spaces, the hills, and the streams where they can wander at leisure and enjoy Nature are not to be blamed for their fear of the future, for that fear is justified from the trend in the past. The Forestry Commission and others fear this antagonism of the open-air public and certain areas have been reserved as National Parks. Some of these areas might be criticised as such from the point of view of the general public. They are inaccessible, situated on high land, and in places where the rainfall is so high that camping or open-air life of any kind is not too pleasing. More than this will be needed, but with enlightened planning the whole countryside can be made interesting, and there can be splendid reconciliation between forestry, sport, and amenity.

Some things, however, we have got to remember when the Forestry Commission is attacked for defiling the countryside. First of all, the enclosure of plantations by wire-netting was necessary, although the barbed wire could often have been dispensed with if the public had responded to some simple rules. The netting wire is

necessary to keep out the rabbits which are the deadly enemies of trees. Without the netting all good foresters know that not a single tree would remain. If it were not for the rabbit much of our land would become tree covered naturally. Rabbits must be reduced in number and the netting will then disappear, thereby reducing much of the cost of planting.

The barbed wire is necessary because if the public get into a young plantation they are careless in the extreme regarding the fire danger. A cigarette end, pipe ash, or match carelessly dropped will destroy in an hour the work of years.

As regards access to woodlands, the public has its own remedy. The people themselves must see to it that the plantations are properly protected. These plantations are their property in a sense. We must start in the schools to educate the children about trees, the danger of fire and the harm that the mishandling of trees cause. It will mean hard work to create a forest sense but it can be done. The children themselves might be given an active part in the creation of forests. Then they would have a pride in what is around them. They would learn that there is not only cruelty to animals—there is such a thing as cruelty to trees! Then the age of destruction would pass with this war and the age of construction would come.

We could give access to woodland which had as its accompaniment severe penalties for damage done. Perhaps we may have to have some punishment of people who wilfully do damage so as protect those who are eager and willing to safeguard the forests, but we do not want to introduce Prussian methods of dealing with offenders.

In many ways this latter matter of access to woodlands is the most serious problem of the future. If the public will play the game then the forests of the future can be interesting places. But it may be asked how can this be done when there is nothing but great stretches of pine and spruce with never a sound to break the stillness and monotony, and by sound is meant mainly the sound of birds. Our recently created woods are undoubtedly anything but interesting, for birds are scarce in pure conifer woods. Contrast the quietness of a pine wood with the melody that prevails in a mixed wood of broad-leaved trees!

The answer is easy. The birds can be brought back by planting a certain proportion of broad-leaved trees amongst the conifers either singly or in groups—the latter preferably. We need not plant them to give timber; it will only be to attract the birds who will find in them and through them resting places and food. It is good forestry so to plant broad-leaved trees like oak and beech, in fact it is the best forestry. The forester will be well repaid for his effort, for the birds will keep his trees free of caterpillars, greenfly, and all sorts of insects which feed on and destroy his trees. This is much better policy than erecting nesting boxes. These are unsatisfactory and expensive in time and labour. The broad-leaved trees will do the work much better.

Then the broad-leaved trees will improve the soil. There is no humus and plant food like that produced by the leaves of the beech tree. Conifers, especially spruce, by themselves tend to cause soil deterioration.

These broad-leaved trees which we plant can be endless in their variety. Shrubs also are not ruled out since they can be placed in the rides and at corners of woods.

Furthermore, beautiful vistas can be created. This latter point is important, since it is often claimed that plantations block out all views of river or mountain peak. Careful planning will provide us with most charming and effective scenery.

Something more may even yet be needed. It is true to say that in the years to come people will desire more than ever to get away from the towns into the country for change and recreation. Motor cars will be more than ever on the roads, as will also be hikers and cyclists. We must not have long stretches of roadway bounded by trees and fences where no stop can be made without impeding the path of others. There will have to be resting places, and these places should be in the forests some way from the roar of the traffic. Facilities for cooking and even camping will have to be provided. The forester will have under his charge people whose duty it is to look after these sites and see to it that the forest is not harmed. The travellers will have their responsibility to see that by care and cleanliness no harm comes to the trees.

As they stop by the wayside, travellers might get to know something more of the trees they see around them

through setting up notices—they need not be conspicuous and an eyesore—which tell them the names of the trees, where they come from, and something in brief about the object of growing them and what will be got from them when they are ready for the axe.

It is very easy, therefore, to form a picture of the forest of the future. It will be a forest designed primarily to supply us with timber and at the same time to give pleasure to a considerable proportion of the public—a forest, that is, of well-grown trees, with its bird and animal fauna, its flora, its beautiful drives, exciting and entrancing vistas, facilities for rest, and the appreciation of Nature. Everybody will not be satisfied. There will always be conflicting ideas as to the most beautiful trees. Each one of us has his or her own ideas as to the most graceful tree or trees. The beauty of a tree depends on so many things. It depends on its surroundings, its health, and above all its age. Usually the tree of the artist is not the tree of the forester, and we will have criticism which is all to the good. Trees should not be condemned because of their appearance when young. Probably no young plantation can be said to be truly beautiful. Even the ardent supporters of the beech and the oak cannot surely claim that these trees when young are more beautiful than the larch or the spruce. They have no right to claim that they are any more beautiful as mature trees. It is a matter of opinion.

It must be borne in mind that in certain sites and on certain soils even the beech and the oak will never develop into really beautiful fine trees. They require much better soil for their development than the pines, spruces, and larches. This is often forgotten by critics of afforestation. No private person or public body is to plant on a big scale something which will at no time give a return. We cannot have great stretches of broad-leaved trees on our heathlands. They would never be beautiful and they would never be economic. But we can plant a certain proportion of broad-leaved species just to give us interesting woods and with no thought whatever of their values in pounds, shillings, and pence, one hundred years hence.

The forestry of the future will require a very large number of well-trained men. It is hopeless to think of forests without men of scientific training, skill, and breadth

of outlook to manage them. In Britain in the past we have really suffered from too many amateurs. They covered their mistakes with the parrot cry of 'Forestry does not pay!' It did not pay because they did not produce the goods. There are people in this country who have made forestry pay, and where a few could do it, all could do it! On other occasions the railways were blamed for their high freightage charges. The railways certainly did charge high because traffic was spasmodic. If there had been a steady flow of wood such as pit props from the forest, i.e. a regular trade, then it is certain that charges would have been reduced. Frequently the rabbit was blamed for unremunerative forestry in this country. The rabbit problem was never dealt with seriously.

We must not be put off a serious forestry programme by specious excuses. There is no difficulty which other countries have overcome that we cannot. Others have got over their difficulty by training the forestry staff—not in training them to fill in countless paper forms but to understand the cultivation of trees and their marketing. They are not above training their foresters in salemanship and in understanding the markets and realising changes in demand in the future. They train them not to be the slaves of fashion or to develop a cult such as planting Sitka spruce here, there, and everywhere.

We already have courses in forestry for potential forest officers at Oxford, Bangor, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen. These schools will have to be expanded to meet the needs of an expanding industry and to fill posts in any body which will have the care of private woodlands. The Forestry Commission has its schools for the training of foresters. These schools are in the Forest of Dean and at Benmore in Argyllshire. Similar schools will have to be established elsewhere where the principles underlying silviculture and forest management can be taught as well as the so-called practical aspect undertaken. There is a likelihood of men at such schools getting too narrow a training. They see only local conditions. Men in training should be allowed to travel widely so that they can see what is being done elsewhere. Without travel, knowledge is restricted in its application and men are inclined to work

in watertight compartments. We have got to realise that practice in one region may not be suitable in another.

Then there is the task of instilling a forest sense into the general public. We have to get people to realise how much the general life and prosperity of the country is dependent on the forests. How, for instance, the water supplies are best regulated by trees since they conserve the water in the soil, allow it to move gently into the watercourses, and so prevent disastrous flooding and erosion. The forests save the cities vast sums of money in filtering their water supplies, for the water which comes from a hillside clad with trees is pure, while water from a bare hillside is muddy.

On account of the dependence of the community on trees, it would be well to make those who are to be the teachers of the young take forestry as part of their curriculum so that they can instruct the children in the rôle of trees. It is interesting to teach children how to recognise trees, but it is important for them to know the part they play in their lives. In any case they will learn to understand and appreciate the work of the forester and to be a help rather than a hindrance. Through better knowledge they would find the world a much better place to live in.

Afforestation in any country may have sometimes to be in the nature of public utility work. Where, for instance, sand may be liable to blow and cover agricultural land together with the homes of the people, the only sure way of removing that danger is to establish on the sand a successful tree cover. We have such danger areas at Culbin in Morayshire and on the Norfolk coast. Disaster has in the past overcome the people of Morayshire and may do so again if the moving sands are not fixed.

The treatment of such places by tree planting is costly. Private individuals have attempted it in the past; the State has done some good work since 1919. It is on account of cost a task which the State should undertake and it is work of lasting benefit. The initial outlay may be high, but it is undoubted that much of it will be recovered in the timber which will be reared. Some fine timber has been cut in the Culbin area in the past, and if the whole area was covered with trees it would undoubtedly give good returns in the future. That danger-

ous sandy tracts can be made profit-yielding forests is proved by what happened in the Landes District of France. That once desert, swampy, disease-infested area, through tree planting, was converted into one of the most profitable areas in France. Before the war we were getting much of our pitwood and turpentine from there.

Such tracts have to be attacked with confidence and determination to bring stability and prosperity to neighbouring communities.

E. V. LAING.

Art. 6.—STOCK EXCHANGE SPECULATION.

I. IN NORMAL TIMES

MOST people find themselves from time to time with money to invest, and usually they will deal direct or *per alios* with stockbrokers. Of course they may not necessarily invest fresh money, but merely change their investments, which indeed they ought periodically to do—in spite of the example of a friend of the present writer who boasted that he had never sold a share whether it rose to a record price or fell to a shilling. His estate at his death was about half a million; so that it is probable that the shares which he watched upon their astronomical flights between infinity and zero must have been side issues. Some of these investors may try a speculative 'flutter,' and go in and out of the stock or shares which they fancy for the rise or fall.

Between the extremes of prosaic investment for dividends representing, say, 3 or 4 per cent. interest, and speculation where no money passes except in profits and losses, there is plainly a great gulf fixed. Yet, like a natural gulf, the intermediate area is fluid. The varieties of investor and speculator overlap or shade into one another in such wise as to exclude very definite lines of demarcation:

1. One who seeks only assured interest on capital.
2. One who buys for interest on capital, but also with an eye to the increase of his capital.

3. One who still invests, but without a primary desire for dividends, except in so far as the prospect of increased dividends is the ground of purchase for profit.

4. One who buys for a rise in price, and takes the profit before Settlement, i.e. before he need pay. But if a longer wait is necessary, he will 'take up' the stock or shares.

(2, 3, and 4 are varieties of the 'speculative investor'.)

5. One who has no intention of paying for what he buys, but will take a profit or cut a loss before Settlement. He is known as a 'bull.' But the term bull has come to be used in a looser sense of all who buy for the rise; as in the phrase, 'on the bull tack.'

6. A class of operators who sell stock or shares which they may or may not possess, in the hope of buying back at a lower price. These are known as 'bears.' The bear is the precise reverse of the bull in 5, *supra*.

In normal times there is a fortnightly Settlement, with an occasional three-week account. Then the bull or bear has usually up to fourteen days' run before closing his operation. If the bull sells at a higher price than he gave, he receives the 'difference'; if at a lower price, he pays the difference. If a bear buys back at a lower price than that at which he sold, he receives the difference; if at a higher price, he pays the difference. It is, however, sometimes possible to mitigate the severity of the Settlement, not to exclude the payment of differences, but to allow the operation to continue over the Settlement for another account, by a process known as 'carry-over.' The bull's stock is taken up at a charge to him of interest called 'contango'; a term which has lent itself to erroneous confusion with a Spanish dance. A bear likewise can take advantage of carry-over; and his procedure is to buy back the stock for cash and at once re-sell to the same party at the same price, paying interest at an agreed rate for the accommodation.

The contango depends upon the state of the account. If there is a heavy bull account, a great number of 'givers,' bulls seeking to escape forced sale at a 'knock-out' price before Settlement, the contango will be high. But if the bull account is light and the bear account heavy (an

unusual combination), the contango will be light ; and the bulls may even enjoy the benefit of 'backwardation,' a charge made for deferred delivery, because the bulls do not take delivery of the stock sold to them, but allow somebody else to make temporary use of it. So also the bears find the process more expensive when there is a heavy bear account ; but if they are only few against a heavy bull account, then their position, as 'takers-in' who defer delivery, is beneficial to the market which is under pressure of bulls either selling or seeking facilities for carry-over ; and they gain where the bulls lose. When the accounts balance, the rate is called 'even,' and the charges cancel one another. Bulls and bears sometimes prefer to limit their possible losses by buying 'options.' Here an operator will take an option to 'call' a number of shares at a price (governed by the market price at the time of acquiring the option) within, say, ninety days. On a rise which shows a profit over and above the price of the option, he can 'call' the shares and take the profit ; or, on a sharp rise, he can sell against the option, as a temporary bear. Or, to reverse the process, a bear will take a 'put' option, and either close at a profit, or buy against it on a fall, as a temporary bull. A man on the spot—it is not so easy over one hundred miles of telephone delays—can go in and out many times during the run of an option. If he cares to combine both put and call options at twice the cost of either, it will be only in a stagnant market that he will lose his money.

To all these transactions a stockbroker is essential. His *raison d'être* is to buy and sell stock and shares to the order of his clients. He buys from, or sells to, a jobber who makes a price determined by the pressure of demand or the excess of supply. The source of supply of stock or shares, other than those on jobbers' books or coming into the market from sellers, is known as the 'shop,' i.e. the issuing house, the company, or group of companies controlling its constituents. A client is liable to the broker for the cost of stock or shares which he takes up, and for differences incurred in an account. A broker is liable to the client for money lying with him to the client's credit, whether this be the proceeds of sale of investments, money lodged in security, or differences. A bull is subject to the principle *caveat emptor* : he takes the consequences of his

purchase. A bear is responsible for the delivery of stock or shares sold unless he repurchases or carries over ; and if ultimately he can neither deliver nor repurchase, the consequences would come home with unpleasant effect. For a ' bear squeeze ' has been known to be ruinous, although it very rarely happens, at least in shares with a free market. Failure to pay on either part is ground of action in law. The client has the advantage that the negligence of a broker puts him in tort, if on that rather difficult ground the client can found an action for damages. But no action lies against a broker on the ground that a client has lost money by taking a broker's advice unless such advice could be shown to be not merely bad, but to amount to deliberate misinformation or misrepresentation, or to have been given with intent to defraud. But unless a client has other sources of information, he is dependent upon what the broker tells him. He may be putty in the broker's hands ; or he may be a person of independent judgment ; but he must rely on the broker for knowledge of the state of the market at a given moment, and, further than that, he may be sure that if he receives a sure ' tip,' the people in the know have got in first, and are waiting to sell when the outsiders come in.

A speculator needs four main qualifications : (1) a reserve of liquid capital, or credit enough to borrow it ; (2) an appropriate intelligence ; (3) a large measure of moral courage ; and (4) a knowledge of human nature, that is, of the way in which other people are likely to react to events and developments. But granted these advantages and qualities in the client, the broker may still be an important, if not a crucial factor in success or failure ; and it goes without saying that, like the rest of the human race, brokers have their weaknesses. This is not to suggest knavery ; for if a client found himself in the hands of a knave, his adventure would be likely to fail from the start. But of course there are ' black sheep,' as in the example of one broker's tale of another, that some innocent seeker of fortune took 5,000*l.* to a broker with intent to double it, whereas in the event he saw the whole of the money dwindle to nothing, and the broker afterwards boasted that he had made 15,000*l.* out of it.

But it is not necessary to assume knavery in order to understand the exasperations which will sometimes beset

an operator in his deals ; and his own gullibility, or his recklessness under the influence of 'atmosphere,' may account for much. The entertaining author of 'A Lawyer's Notebook' quotes a millionaire's advice to his son, 'never on any account to lunch with a stockbroker.' This no doubt would be valuable advice to many clients who had the wit to interpret 'lunch' in a comprehensive sense. A lawyer friend of mine was less allusive. He had acted for various of his clients in cases of brokers' claims ; and although he never thought the clients were anything but boobies, his opinion of brokers was no more complimentary. He used to quote a case in which a young man, sued by a broker for differences, successfully brought a cross-action on the ground that the broker had incited him to gamble. At the outbreak of war in 1914 he saw one redeeming feature in the prospect of peril and calamity, and exclaimed with satisfaction, 'This will make the brokers dance.' At the same time one has an impression of solicitors that, although some of them may know much about trustee stocks, they commonly know very little of the 'ins and outs' of speculation.

It is but a platitude that finance is a hard task-master, and has no place for the fairy tales of easy fortune. But while failure is sometimes due to an operator's folly and greed, there are examples of its cause in the conservatism and unadaptability of brokers. Theories by which to take advantage of a market movement have been known to turn out correctly in the event, but have been defeated by the obstinacy or slowness of brokers to grasp them. In contrast with one good broker who watched his client's interest, and had an understanding to act at discretion—once, on the passing of a dividend the client made a profit of 80*l.* (in larger dealing it might have been 800*l.* or 8,000*l.*) in half an hour between two telephone calls, with a bear of ordinary stock followed by a bull of preference before the recovery—in contrast with this, an operator may try others who fumble his affairs without quite laying themselves open to a charge of negligence. This same good broker once said about some others who pressed this, that, or the other share upon their clients, 'They know no more about them than you or I.'

But once in, it is not always so easy to get out again. One can, of course, always sell unless a share is such

rubbish that it is unsaleable. But a client frequently needs information and advice ; and finds some brokers persistent in their advice to hold against his inclination to take a profit or to cut a loss. There was a case in which a client insisted on selling, although the broker told him he would be a fool to do so. The stock afterwards dwindled to a small fraction of its then current price ; and, although this was not an example of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, the said broker afterwards was hammered. There is a good maxim for dealing, sometimes attributed to Lord Rothschild : ' Quickly in and quickly out, like a cold bath ' ; and when he was asked how the family had made its vast fortune, the answer was, ' By always selling too soon ! ' But to carry out this precept, one has sometimes to be very determined ; and if there is a tug-of-war between the respective tactics of client and broker, the result may be calamitous. Mr Gilbert Frankau in his ' Self-Portrait ' records a *contretemps* with a broker who refused to sell a bear of the shares of a company of which he (Mr Frankau) knew the inside. The broker was ready enough to buy, but would not sell even on the security of Mr Frankau's proffered cover. The shares then were 3*l.* 10*s.* In a year they were no more than a shilling, and Mr Frankau would have made 35,000*l.* The broker also lost a commission of over 300*l.* If brokers do no better for themselves than for their clients, they would be wise to rely on their lawful commissions, and not on speculation which not only is not their business but may unfit them for attending to their clients' business. A foolish remark, that speculation was better left to stockbrokers, rested on the mistaken supposition that speculation is the broker's business, and privilege. The answer to this folly lay in the evidence of a city accountant who knew as much about the affairs of brokers as any man could ; and he asserted that when they are tempted out of the market, if any, in which they specialise and try a ' flutter ' in some other, they commonly drop money.

What, then, is the hope of the outside public when it takes a hand in quest of profit ?

This ' outside public,' of course, includes magnates whose operations are so heavy that they move a market ; but it is not these whom we have in mind. Ordinarily this public is not well placed for speculation, and even

needs a good deal of shrewd advice for prosaic investment. But there are always some rare exceptions. Some individuals have a keen nose for a market movement ; or some *rara avis* may catch a running stock, as recorded once in that of the Erie Railroad, buy more as it rises, build a pyramid, multiply his money, and sell out safe and sound. Sometimes when a general movement is maintained for a time and shows no sign of the frequent false start, the public comes in and takes the bit between its teeth ; and then, if we are spared an international crisis or a declaration of war *et id genus omne*, a boom may last for weeks or even months. Except for accidents, a bull cannot go wrong. But what happens ?

Numbers of people have made profits, and have had the sense to take them after a good rise. But the usual thing is to go in again, perhaps more heavily as greed grows. Many people make further profits and suppose that they are on the top of the market for the rest of their days. But they take liberties once too often. One fine day there is a bombshell, perhaps from abroad, which bursts with heavy selling in a top-heavy bull market. Frightened brokers and aggrieved clients take some cold comfort in a tale that the Jews are to blame. Certainly they are shrewd enough to see when the time has come to make an end of an unhealthy rise. Somebody, at any rate, has sold large bears, and wired or telephoned from the Continent the nasty news of crisis. Down the prices fall. Some people are sharp enough to sell at best. Some cling to their shares in the hope of quick recovery, doubtless advised by their brokers to wait for a better price. But all that they get for their patience is the continuing tumble and accumulating loss, as share after share repeats the mythological headlong flight :

‘ From morn

To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A summer’s day ; and with the setting sun
Dropt from the zenith like a falling star.’

It is all too literally true. For, unless the situation is so serious as to cause suspension of dealings, there is business in such active times ‘from morn . . . to dewy eve’ : early dealings before the official markets open, and a ‘street’ market until late hours in the evening. And, to

complete the picture, these crashes do frequently fall on 'a summer's day' ('sell in May, and go away!') when the people who made their profits in the Spring boom and have lost them again—and very likely lost more than they made—would like to see the light of love and not the face of ruin.

For those who, in American phrase, would 'get rich quick,' a heavy but typical tumble, as briefly pictured, is their mark. When it happens, even the speculator who is out of the market is fortunate; but more fortunate still if he was sharp enough to sell short at the top. For he would see two falls to gladden his heart: when the bottom falls out of the market, a fortune falls like golden apples into his lap!

The weakness of the public is that they are nearly always bulls. They think in terms of investment in which they buy to hold, therefore when they speculate they do the same. They buy for the rise, and sell only when they see a profit, or not even then but too late, when their losses are larger than they need have been. Not only do they not know the old maxim, 'Better rue sold than rue kept'; they do not know how often the right thing to do with stock and shares is to sell them—like the American millionaire who was a consistent bear before the great crisis and collapse of 1929, and earned the nickname, 'Sell 'em Ben.'

In face of the common tale of woe, and the money made by a few shrewd people out of the too optimistic bulls, an easy piece of advice would be that of Mr Punch before another risky adventure, 'Don't!' This would be good advice to many speculators, who lick their wounds and return to markets as soon as they have any more money to fool away. But it is also plain that there are possibilities of making money by those who will be firm in observance of some rigorous rules. They must keep their heads, not go out of their depth, take profits and cut losses quickly enough to escape the penalty of greed (which is probably their worst enemy), steel themselves against advice to hold when the market has had a good rise, and be sure that when everybody wants to buy, it will soon be time to sell.

With such experience a speculator will exercise discretion in the choice and employment of a broker. It is useless to try to speculate through a bank when speed is

paramount ; for not only is it a circuitous route at the best of times, but it is an old joke of market men that a banker will still be adjusting his glasses to turn up the share in his lists, when a broker has been into the market and done the deal. It may be said for brokers that Voltaire, who was no fool in the eighteenth century and successful in his operations, thought well of the French brokers. Here it should be said that if a small man has a client's interests at heart, knows his ideas and will act quickly when speed is requisite, an operator may be successful. And there are large firms in which several partners specialise in their appropriate markets ; and if a speculator secures the benefit of such specialised attention, he may not lose and may actually flourish. But he must after all accept responsibility for his operations. He may be fortunate in finding an adviser who has a true flair for the market ; but if he seeks relief from all personal thought, responsibility, and quick decision, he is looking for a chimera.

II. CONDITIONS IN WAR-TIME

In war-time anybody who possesses any capital or can boast of any surplus income buys war bonds to help to speed the victory. But there is of necessity other business ; and there the general principles apply, but with a good deal of modification. In accordance with the war-time regulations of the Stock Exchange Committee, all dealings are for cash. There are no fortnightly settlements, and no carry-over ; and cash for settlement is payable when stock or shares are taken up, that is not later than five days from purchase.

The effect of these rules is to curtail speculation, but not to eliminate it ; and certainly war-time has its possibilities. According to an interesting old chart, which registers evenly repeated cycles through the past century, the year 1942 should mark the beginning of a three years' spell of rising prices. Indeed prices have been rising since comparatively early days of the war. But it will be plain from the war-time regulations mentioned, that they do not permit the customary liberties of bulls and bears. For neither variety can run for more than five days without payment or delivery, as the case may be. This means that a bull must either take up his shares or sell them ;

and if he sells them, but wishes to enjoy a further run, he must buy them *de novo* and repeat the process, which is an expensive way of taking an interest in markets, although it can be made to pay when prices go the right way. Likewise a bear must either deliver or buy back within the same period ; but he can re-sell and try again.

In normal times a bear account gives an element of support to the market, because the bears must sooner or later buy ; and yet there is an old saying, ' the greater the bear account, the greater the fall,' which is sometimes verified. But to-day, when all dealings are for cash after five days, and most stock and shares are fairly firmly held, it is usually easier to sell than to buy ; and the tendency is for prices to rise unless the reduction or passing of a dividend should affect a particular share, or a group of shares in sympathy ; or very bad news from the war should upset markets as a whole. In the light of experience in this war, the news must be very bad in order to cause a serious fall. It is probably correct to say of war-time business that there is long-term buying for victory and post-war development, short-term buying for early capital appreciation, and such dealing as there is on the bear tack amounts to no more than jobbing.

Last November considerable market activity with rising prices was brought to a halt, lest it should get out of hand and so defeat the purpose of the war-time regulations. The main action was merely to enforce the existing regulations. Actually a new rule incorporated the five-day rule, with ancillary provisions for expediting the issue of tickets to deliverers of stock, and imposing commissions on both purchase and sale where a deal is closed before delivery. It appears that some operators were deferring settlement for ten or fourteen days, instead of the proper five days, and that in this unlawful extension they must have enjoyed the connivance of their brokers. But there seems to have been some misconception of the actual effect of the regulations. 'The Times' city column one day implied that under the five-day rule there could be no bull and bear operations ; and 'The Sunday Pictorial' published a leading article under the title, 'Scotched,' expressing satisfaction that war-time speculators should have been brought under control. But this expression of righteous approval was nearly a fall into a mare's nest.

There is nothing in war-time regulations to prevent a five-day bull or bear ; and if markets are active, an operator can make, or lose, a great deal of money in five days, even in five hours ! But so long as the system remains, under which individuals or corporations can invest their money at interest in stock or shares which are quoted on the Stock Exchange, so long will the elements of speculation remain. An example was noted a few years ago, in peace-time, of a Trade Union whose investments showed a profit of 13,000*l.* in a year. There was nothing unlawful or improper in this ; but similar results could be repeated in war-time when purchases of Government and other stock early in this war will now show quite good profits.

III. FUTURE POLICY

When the war is over, the question will fall for determination whether or not to restore the normal Stock Exchange practice. There is, of course, much to warrant the charge that speculation has turned the Stock Exchange into a casino (although the South Sea Bubble serves to remind us that the tendency is not of yesternight !) ; and Mr Courtauld has lately been advocating its restriction by legislation. But the cause of freedom, being one of the values for which we fight this war against tyranny, must give pause to those who would invoke repressive legislation. Already the bureaucratic machine extends its tentacles, and threatens the country with a tyranny from which, if we are true to our professions in war, we shall demand relief ; for the peril is that when we have won freedom abroad, we may lose it at home.

But there is a distinction between repression and control. If we have any spirit left, we should revolt against any kind of strait waistcoat in the fashion of the puritans ; yet it is compatible with such long-established principle as the regulated opening and closing of licensed premises, to restrain a form of activity which sometimes puts prices out of all relation with actual values, but to permit the exercise of such utility as it may still contribute. It will thus be pertinent to take a practical view. Curtailment of speculation is possible and effective in war ; and therefore presumably in peace. But while the rudiments of the system remain, a further extension of

such curtailment might not be as easy or as useful as its advocates imagine. As Lord Birkenhead once observed in another issue, 'While all definition is difficult, there is no definition which exceeds the resource and ingenuity of the law to make'; but a legal definition incorporated in statute does not always work in precise accord with the intention of the legislature. While it would be feasible to legislate against all speculation, this would not *ipso facto* exclude changes in the prices of stock and shares. There would still operate a law of supply and demand. Investors would still enjoy an unearned increment, unless indeed the regulative legislation take the grisly shape of confiscation. And, as we shall see, the effect might be to deprive investors of a measure of protection.

Abusus non tollit usum. The concern of constructive reformers is to remove the abuse but to retain the use. Here we proceed to note the chief abuse and the actual use. There is one count against the particular mode of making money by speculation, as also by gambling at the tables and all games of chance; and this is of more serious account than private calamity and consequent penury. For although speculation is not necessarily a game of chance—a serious operator works on more solid evidence—it is a vast unproductive activity, proportionately far in excess of the volume and the value of the business represented by the stock and shares which investors proper buy and sell. Whereas some traders' profits are the legitimate reward of productive labour and useful trade, the profits of speculation benefit nobody but the recipient and the broker who receives his commission on purchase or sale—unless it is to be assumed that successful speculators use the money to much better purpose than others would! And if for 'profits' we read 'losses,' these represent energy which is doubly unproductive except in so far as they are of benefit to the jobbers' books. On the most favourable view, speculation can be justified only as a side issue in a life which otherwise is productive of cultural or economic value. Here is a case for the restriction of abuse.

But granted the evil of speculation, one factor ought not to be forgotten in its favour. The fact that investors proper can get a close price in a free market is due to the large number of speculative dealings which makes the

market fluid. If there were no dealings except for true investment, there would tend to be a sticky and difficult market. In normal times it has been estimated that as much as 95 per cent. of the business on the Stock Exchange is speculative ; and this gives an adventitious advantage to the genuine investor of his savings. This is not, of course, a full answer to the objections. It is but one item ; but it is one for which investors should be grateful, and one which rightly weighs against any agitation for such drastic reform as would make a ' clean sweep.'

In all ' root and branch ' reform there is peril of excess and so of defeat of its purpose. Legislation for the restriction of bulls on the principle of ' cash with order ' would not eliminate profits. But it would militate against a free and fluid market. Again, legislation to restrict sales without evidence of stock to deliver at the settlement would contribute to the same effect, and might also endanger the stability of the market by the removal of potential support. The tendency of any movement is to swing too far. The rises of price in a ' boom ' and the falls produced by panic are as well the expression of psychological sympathy and infection as of actual finance, and are often greater, or heavier, than the real conditions would justify. We have seen how insidious is bull speculation ; but a bear account aids recovery from the lowest depths when the bears run to cover. Here the psychological effect of the knowledge that there is a bear account serves to steady the nerves of the bulls. Even if nobody cares for the nerves of the bulls, the process is worthy of note because it helps also, and in the same way, the nerves of investors who have seen their stock or shares declining.

Therefore we conclude that the complete elimination of the speculative element in Stock Exchange business would be an error in the interests of genuine investors. But there is a strong case for the curtailment of speculative riot. For this purpose the war-time restriction upon the time available for any speculative run is more effective than restriction upon the amounts of purchase or sale. While the restriction of time has been seen to take the requisite effect, the prohibition of business without initial cash payment, or without the initial production of stock for sale, would eliminate just the speculative element which

is of advantage to investment. The Stock Exchange is not in need of repressive legislation, which might indeed prove to be actually detrimental. But there is little doubt that a continuance of regulative control by the Stock Exchange Committee, such as to check inflated speculation and riotous markets, would be everywise beneficial. To this end the principles which govern war-time dealings could be adopted after the war, but with such modification or relief as may be seen in the experience of practice to be desirable, in order to facilitate legitimate business.

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Art. 7.—NURSING.

1. '*The Lancet*' Commission on Nursing. London: '*The Lancet*,' 1932.
2. *Interdepartmental Committee on Nursing Services: Interim Report* (Chairman: the Earl of Athlone). London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939.
3. *Report of the Committee on Amenities and Welfare Conditions in the Women's Services*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1942.
4. *Nursing Life and Discipline*. By Sheila Bevington. London: H. K. Lewis and Co.
5. *First Report of Nurses' Salaries Committee*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.

IN a survey of the general hospital service (October 1941), it was observed that the work of nurses is a sufficiently important subject to deserve a separate article. Since then the requirements of the Forces and of the Emergency Hospital Service have accentuated the inadequacy of the supply of nurses and kept the subject of nursing constantly in the mind of the public and the Government. The country has been presented with what can only be regarded as a remarkable phenomenon, that while women have come forward splendidly to take up work in all kinds of exacting and unfamiliar occupations, sufficient recruits have been lacking for the noblest profession open to them

and at a time when the country was specially in need of their services.

For some years nursing has suffered from a 'bad press.' Although considerable improvements have been effected in the conditions of life of the nurses little credit for them seems to have been given, while the tendency has remained to criticise without care being taken to obtain reliable information. Nurses have been appearing more often as characters in ephemeral literature, even in 'thrillers,' and under conditions which do not present the occupation as attractive. An important contribution to a knowledge of the subject has been made by Dr Sheila Bevington in a book dealing with 'Nursing Life and Discipline' which is a study based on over five hundred interviews with nurses of all grades. Unfortunately it is not generally realised that the conditions of the work are as important as the remuneration (if not more so), so that the attention given to Dr Bevington's book has been trifling compared with the interest in the report of Lord Rushcliffe's Committee containing scales of salaries.

From the initial step in making inquiries the prospective candidate for the nursing profession is likely to receive the impression that there is something in the atmosphere strange and alien to that to which she has been accustomed hitherto.

More than ten years ago 'The Lancet' Commission observed: 'a more genial reception of a candidate's preliminary overtures would probably have a favourable effect on recruitment. The discouraging response to a candidate's inquiries may date from the period when applicants were numerous and vacancies were few, or it may reflect a desire to put off at the outset any candidate whose sense of vocation is not strong' (p. 101). The inconsistency in the latter attitude is regrettable, since there is no interview in which cordial goodwill is more essential than one in which an older person is trying to help a younger to find her vocation.

The result of the interview with the matron may lead, even during the present serious shortage of nurses, to an intimation that the candidate has been put on a waiting list and can be admitted to the preliminary training school in six months' time. This is another type of waiting list in which, like those for patients, the voluntary hospitals

seem to take a great pride. The one is almost as deplorable as the other. For a girl anxious to serve her country and her fellow-men to be told that she cannot even begin a long period of training is demoralising and from a national point of view calamitous, especially when other nursing schools cannot complete their complement.

The establishment of preliminary training schools, in which the girls would do a certain amount of the work for their first examination, has been a definite advance upon the time when the girl left her home and was plunged straight into a ward full of sick people, calling forth all her compassionate sympathy, to which she was quite unable to give expression, owing to her ignorance of even the most elementary sick nursing routine. The Preliminary Training School provided a stepping stone for the girl from the secondary school possessing her school certificate or some corresponding qualification and gave her an opportunity to know something of the conditions of hospital life before she entered definitely into it. Its weak point is that each voluntary hospital considers that it must have one to itself. The result is oftentimes an institution educationally unsound and uneconomic. Just at the time when a girl is needing to broaden out in mind and character she is put into a small group with a restricted vocational outlook. It is generally considered that thirty is the smallest number of students with which a preliminary training school can be run economically, though the abolition of all fees under pressure from the Ministry of Health nullifies any reasoning on a financial basis.

At this stage the observations of the Committee on the three Women's Services under the chairmanship of Miss Violet Markham are applicable to the conditions of the entrant into the life of the nurse. 'The large majority,' they reported, 'adapt themselves in time and many become enthusiastic for their Service. But a certain number will always find community life uncongenial and, when writing home, may easily exaggerate existing drawbacks.' On the whole, probably parents and relatives are more opposed to girls becoming nurses than they are to their enlistment in the Forces. Accordingly the attitude of parents, which the Committee found to be an important factor, is still more in evidence in respect to the nurses. 'Nothing,' they wrote, 'is more disheartening to a home-

sick girl in the first days of an unfamiliar existence than to have letters from home full of parental anxiety and distress' (p. 11). Moreover, it has to be remembered that the nurses' letters are received in homes which have parted with the writers with great reluctance. Parents who have opposed the departure of the only daughter from home readily find they are justified by any description of conditions which do not seem to meet the girl's ideas completely.

Another subject upon which the experience of Miss Markham's Committee has a valuable bearing in relation to nurses was the stories about immorality in the Forces. They are almost as prevalent in reference to nurses. In their case, too, the conclusion of the whole matter probably is to be found in the observation: 'There is a certain bravado in much talk that takes place between young people about sex questions, and theories are often paraded in conversation which are never put into practice' (p. 50). An analogous Committee to review the conditions in hospital life would probably find that they contribute more to the realisation of sexual need than those in the Services, and a general survey, as Dr Bevington's book shows, is urgently needed to supplement the reports of the Athlone and Rushcliffe Committees.

The Preliminary Training School, however, is not quite suited for the girl from the elementary school, nor does it 'bridge the gap' always for the secondary school girl. There is much to be said for a girl entering another occupation for a time, as it provides against the narrowness, which everyone deprecates for the nurse, and gives her the opportunity to make sure that she desires to become a nurse. The risk, however, that she may abandon her intention or the financial difficulties be increased by the transfer from one occupation to another at a later age are serious obstacles to this course. In any case, provision must be made for girls from both schools as the Athlone Committee emphasised in their report. It is necessary for the girl from the elementary school to continue her education and keep her mind actively occupied, so that she is able in due course to reach the standard of academic education now required for nurses. Admirable work has already been done in this way by some local authorities, such as the Hertfordshire Education Committee. This,

however, does not wholly meet the needs either of some of the girls who want to be nurses nor of the country. 'It appears certain,' said the Athlone Committee, 'that however rapidly recruitments to the nursing profession may improve in the near future . . . it will not be possible for some years to come, or perhaps ever, to carry on the nursing services of the country without the aid of assistant nurses' (p. 64). Accordingly they recommended that assistant nurses should receive State recognition by an extension of the Nurses Registration Act, 1919, to include a Roll of Assistant Nurses. The primary qualification would be two years in an approved training institution, which is an approval of an apprenticeship method of tuition, to be tested by assessors appointed for the purpose by the enrolling body. The Committee were of opinion that a written examination of a uniform national standard should not be a condition of admission to the roll 'as a considerable number of women who are suited for the type of work now carried out by assistant nurses might have great difficulty' in passing it (p. 66). The work regarded primarily as being suitable is the nursing of the 'chronic sick' and infirm in accordance with plans which originally took shape under the auspices of the Essex County Council, though there are those who deprecate not only the use of the phrase 'chronic sick' but also the segregation of those covered by it. Provided that the assistant nurse works under supervision, Lord Horder's Nursing Reconstruction Committee, set up by the Royal College of Nursing, considered that there is a place for her in several other spheres—in factories, in certain health clinics, in nursing homes, in tuberculosis and other special hospitals, and in many small institutions at present trying to solve their staffing problems largely by means of student labour.

War conditions have had a marked effect upon the conclusions reached by the Athlone Committee, as short periods of training have been instituted for nursing auxiliaries. Statistics of the number who have been attracted by the life to take up nursing as a profession would be valuable. More recruits might be secured if credit could be given for services already rendered, in obtaining qualifications to enable them to aid the reconstruction of the health and hospital services of

the country and even of those overseas to which the Government have given undertakings. In the meantime a bill promoted by the Ministry of Health with the approval of the Royal College of Nursing has been passed through Parliament and received the royal assent on April 22 this year to constitute a roll of assistant nurses as proposed by the Athlone Committee. In addition the Nurses Act imposes penalties upon anyone, not registered as a nurse or enrolled as an assistant nurse, who takes or uses the title of nurse. A special provision excepts children's nurses, defined to be persons 'whose avocation is that of caring for children.'

These proposals, to make provision for nurses with a low educational standard, are in striking contrast with the line of thought pursued by Dr Janet Welch in her study of nursing education related to the cultural background in East and South-east African colonies, published by the Carnegie Corporation, or such publications as the report of the Committee of the Canadian Hospital Council on Nursing and Nurse Education in Canadian Hospitals. In them the discussion turns upon the extent to which a university training is desirable or essential for a girl entering upon a career as a nurse. It has been noticeable, too, that the Governments of the United States and of Canada, faced with a shortage of nurses for the Forces, rendered financial assistance by means of grants in aid to the Schools of Nursing for their extension and development instead of adopting the unfortunate expedient of the Government of Great Britain of increasing the rates of pay of students in training. As the education of the nurses becomes more closely associated with the general educational system of the country, the prospect will improve of the recognition of nursing as a calling with professional status rather than a sweated industry, which now seems to be the conception in the minds of a good many people.

Following the report of the Athlone Committee, the Board of Education issued a circular to encourage the establishment of evening courses in technical schools as well as the courses in secondary schools. They also pointed out that there might be whole-time day courses in technical schools for girls and young women who have left school and are not employed or can afford to leave their

employment. The Board added : ' While it will still be possible to take the whole of the Preliminary Examination after entering hospital without taking a pre-nursing course at school, it is expected that the new arrangements will gradually become the normal route to the nursing profession. It may be that the Rushcliffe Committee have indirectly given a stimulus to the movement in that direction. Although members refrained from attaching a series of reservations like those accompanying the Athlone Report, apparently there were just as many if not more that might have found expression. In particular strong objection is felt to the abolition of fees in the preliminary training schools and the payment of the students from the time of their admission. It looks as if the Board of Education's proposals showed a more excellent way. The provision of adequate teaching staff might present some difficulty at first, though in course of time the schools might provide another source of supply for the teaching staffs in the nursing schools within the hospitals.

The Rushcliffe Committee reported ' that at present any training institution is free to establish a course of training for sister tutors and that no standard is laid down as to what should be regarded as a recognised course of training.' Accordingly they recommended to the General Nursing Council ' that they should consider regularising the arrangements for the training of sister tutors, who hold a position of the first importance in the nursing profession of the future ' (p. 8). The General Nursing Council had not the powers to standardise the training of sister tutors analogous to those possessed by the Central Midwives Board for midwife teachers as recommended by the Rushcliffe Committee, so the new Act gives the necessary authority. The General Nursing Council has not an easy task before it, as there is the same difficulty as is to be found in other professions in having a whole-time teacher no longer engaged in some practical work.

Whatever may have been the preliminary course of training, the entrance of the student into the hospital routine marks a definite stage and brings her into contact with the environment which is so often the subject of criticism. The fundamental difference in the point of view is at the root of it. Conditions of living have

considerably improved and yet the criticisms remain, as 'The Lancet' Commission expected, unless the anomalies 'which may coexist with a luxurious Nurses' Home and an excellent dietary' are removed. 'The most noticeable of these anomalies,' continued the Report, 'and one which really includes all the rest, is the contrast between the degree of responsibility assigned to the probationer in the wards and the degree of confidence reposed in her in the Nurses' Home. While still a student she may be left at night in sole charge of a ward of sick people, or be detailed to wash, tend, and report on the changing condition of a critically ill patient. Though she is given such serious and responsible duties, the amount of discretion allowed her in the conduct of her personal affairs, that is, in the organisation of that part of the twenty-four hours when she is not on duty, is very small. . . . The change in outlook that hospital authorities have not yet recognised is that the modern girl does not admit the propriety of any attempt to ensure her efficiency as an employee by regulation of her private life . . . it is for her, she holds, and not for them to regulate her life in accordance with the work she has undertaken and the assumption that she needs protective supervision she finds quite unacceptable' (pp. 30-31). Combined with the objection to being treated as a child is the resentment against a system of discipline which is still favoured by some nursing authorities. Here again sound advice may be found in the report of the Committee which dealt with women in the Forces. 'There would seem to be a need,' they said, 'for explaining to new recruits the reasons for rules and regulations, without which organisation cannot be carried out. Her rights as well as her duties should be made clear to the recruit. . . . Loyal support of authority is often secured if offenders are told why the rule they have broken was first made' (p. 19). In hospital there are not only the rules of the Service, but also a number of unwritten traditions. Every great institution—and hospitals are no exception to the rule—is rightly attached to tradition, but there can be unsatisfactory as well as good traditions. Let one example suffice. Nothing, perhaps, more impresses the average patient than the fact that the nurses are always on their feet. He never sees one sitting down. Their position in that respect is worse than in any

shop or factory, though there may be no rule which forbids a nurse to sit down in the presence of a patient. It is a tradition to be maintained never mind how exacting for the nurse or trying for the patient. Perhaps the most notable example is when a nurse has to feed a sightless patient almost flat on his back. It requires her to stoop in one of the most tiring of attitudes. He knows that and consequently gulps his food to save her some of the continuous strain. That is the kind of stupid subservience to tradition which makes a girl, accustomed to be encouraged to think for herself, rebel against hospital life.

Upon the life of the nurse in training both 'The Lancet' Commission and the Athlone Committee collected a good deal of evidence which has been surveyed by Dr Bevington and collated with the verbal evidence obtained by her. She concludes 'that most of the reforms introduced between the dates of their respective publications concerned material rather than psychological factors. Thus standards of food and accommodation have been raised more often than have standards of individual freedom of staff relations' (p. 84). Her contention is that hospitals have remained aloof from the main influences affecting national life which have found expression in growing appreciation 'in democratic countries of the supremely important part played by psychological factors in achieving human happiness.' The incorporation of these ideas within nursing life would involve, in order to attain greater 'freedom of the individual,' the abolition of all off-duty rules, other than those directly safeguarding the well-being of other members of the home and ward communities. The reception of her proposals will be prejudiced in the minds of many by her analogies between hospitals and prisons and places of industry. Nevertheless it is a much graver indictment of hospital authorities than of factory management that she should have to recommend 'specific teaching on ways of keeping physically fit in hospital, the fuller use of precautions against minor infections, and scientific investigation of the incidence, causes, and prevention of sickness among nurses' (p. 83). On the last point various theories have been advanced from time to time. A popular idea has attributed any sickness of a nurse to hard work. On this subject, too, the authorities

might with advantage study the report on women in the Services. The Committee had before them the medical history of fourteen thousand W.A.A.Fs. They found 'the greatest incidence of sickness occurs amongst those doing less active duties, such as clerks, amongst the immobile rather than the mobile. The more active the healthier. It has been impressed on us that the best menstrual—as indeed general—health prevails amongst girls and women doing strenuous and active work' (p. 28). This seems to justify the theory that psychological factors may be a primary cause of the sickness rate among nurses. As the student proceeds with her training her responsibilities steadily increase and inability to rise to them in the opinion of the authorities is not an uncommon cause of terminating the training. But the question arises how far this may be due to the failure of the system rather than of the individual. Dr Bevington finds: 'One of the main difficulties confronting sisters and probationers alike, arises from the combination of their respective positions as teacher and student with those of executive and employee, in face of the heavy pressure of ward life. Another is presented by the narrow outlook and interests characterising both nurses and sisters, consequent upon their circumscribed residential environment' (p. 84).

After completing her training, the position of the staff nurse is now appreciably improved financially under the new scales and she may not step so quickly into the post of ward-sister, especially as there is a definite tendency to attach more importance to that position. Dr Bevington has a sympathetic and understanding chapter describing the problems confronting the ward-sister from which may be quoted the introductory paragraph:

'To be a good ward-sister requires an exceptional combination of abilities, over and above the technical competence which will actually save life. Among the social abilities needed are those of tact in coping with distressed relatives, leadership and sympathy in handling staff-nurses, humour and understanding in supervising probationers, and consideration for the domestic staff. In addition the ward-sister requires both good teaching and good executive ability. Probationers will suffer from her deficiency in either respect; and, if she is a poor

organiser, extravagance in ward administration will also ensue. Finally she needs the ability to "rise to the occasion" and to "put a good face on it," whatever the circumstances' (p. 9).

Accordingly in compiling a scale of salaries for nurses, the ward-sister has been recognised to hold the pivotal position. At the same time there are wide variations in different hospitals in the range of work and responsibility, so that only a superficial uniformity has been established by the Rushcliffe Committee by fixing a common salary for a ward-sister. Moreover it is desirable that the unit under her control should not be small and in many cases might well include more than one ward.

There is one over-riding consideration in respect to the whole of these new scales that residential staff do not pay income tax upon their emoluments. This becomes more noticeable now that they have been fixed at a figure nearer to their true value and while income tax remains at its present rate. On a ward-sister's scale of salary ranging from 230*l.* to 300*l.*, including emoluments valued at 100*l.* a year, she may be 30*l.* to 40*l.* a year better off than a non-residential member of the staff or woman in another occupation. The Rushcliffe Committee allowed a discretion to hospital authorities to supplement this with an allowance of not less than 10*l.* or more than 20*l.* for sisters in charge of special departments. The house-keeping sister, the home sister, and the night superintendent have additional allowances of 20*l.*, 30*l.*, and 40*l.* respectively.

Matrons, assistant matrons, and sister tutors are placed in a separate category with, in the case of the two former, scales of salaries varying according to the size of the hospital. The salary of a matron of a hospital with 200 to 399 beds ranges from 450*l.* to 530*l.* in addition to valuable emoluments and, as 'The Lancet' has pointed out (Feb. 20, 1943), compares favourably with the Burnham scales for teachers, which provided the analogy in the appointment of the Committee.

No attempt has been made to define the qualifications required in the matron and assistant matron. The Diploma of Nursing is the only professional qualification containing any special reference to administration and the Committee do not value it at more than 5*l.* a year as a

reward for the hard work necessary to obtain it. Dr Bevington's skilled ability in evaluating personnel led her to the conclusion 'that most matrons approach their heavy task with excellent intentions, considerable general ability, and from the standpoint of social service. So many and so varied, however, are the attributes needed, that the wrong candidate can easily be selected as matron and, once appointed, cannot be dislodged, save for professional misconduct. Such errors of judgment are especially likely to occur if the interviewing board is almost wholly male, and the applicant is attractive to, or clever at handling, men' (p. 42). Her final point in surveying the position of the matron and assistant matron is, significantly, to lay emphasis on giving the nurse a right of direct appeal to the governing body.

The point which Dr Bevington found most often criticised in the matron's administration was the exercise of her disciplinary function. Its weakness is perhaps more evident in voluntary than in council hospitals, and to some extent may be the product of the system of administration of the former. The matron of a council hospital has complete authority in the control of her department, but has to recognise the responsibility of the medical superintendent in respect to anything concerning the welfare of the patients. The lay executive officer in the voluntary hospital cannot occupy a position in relation to the nursing staff similar to that of the medical superintendent. Perhaps as a consequence the matron in the voluntary hospital is by no means concerned only with her own department, but tends to 'spread' herself over all the others. Thus the environment contributes to the establishment of a somewhat domineering position which reacts upon the matron's relations with her own staff. It has to be remembered, too, that a nurse is singularly dependent for some years for her prospects in her career upon the goodwill of the matron. Any sign of independent thought may be fatal to her future.

Associated with the consideration of the position of the matron is the establishment of a nurses' representative council upon which there seems to be some confused thinking. There are two points involved. One is that the nurses should have a proper constitutional procedure to express their views and needs in relation to their own con-

ditions of life. The other is that the governing body should avail itself of the experience of the nursing staff derived from direct contact with the patients in the general management of the hospital. To meet the former, especially 'to secure the speedy and sympathetic consideration of individual grievances' (p. 58), the Athlone Committee proposed a body like a Whitley Council composed of two panels or sides representative of the staff and the governing bodies. The composition of the Rushcliffe Committee corresponds with this proposal, though its creation reverses the procedure anticipated by the Athlone Committee that 'such a Council could only be built upon the successful and universal adoption of a system of local councils.' It seems to be a body admirably suited for dealing with the problems common to all the hospitals and has already found it necessary to consider the conditions of service. Many of the 'grievances' prevail in the majority of hospitals, and a body of that kind with authority behind it combined with the power of the purse may do a good deal to effect a general improvement. The grievances of individuals on the hospital staff generally due to the arbitrary action of a superior are in another category. If nurses in training are to be treated as employees they must be placed in the same position as the trained staff and have a direct appeal to the governing body. But if they are to be regarded as students, then they can express their views through a representative council to the matron in the same way as the medical students have a right of approach to the Dean. The sisters and the trained staff may well meet together in a self-governing body which in respect to their own affairs should have direct access to the nursing committee and in matters affecting the general welfare of the hospital might meet representatives of the managing committee; though if the matron attends that body regularly she should put herself in the position of being able to represent their views by consulting them upon any matter arising in the committee's deliberations. While a consultative body of the nursing staff, as the Athlone Committee suggested, 'can play an important part in the smooth running of the hospital,' it is arguable that it might become more effective if they constituted part of a larger body representative of all sections of the staff.

Into this somewhat chaotic state of affairs public demand is introducing a new factor of considerable importance. The nursing profession, like the medical, will have to direct its attention more definitely to the promotion of health, 'Every nurse,' as the Royal College of Nursing have well said, 'is now—and will be in the future—a potential health educator.' There may not be the same glamour in preventive work as there is attaching to the care of acutely sick patients in hospital but its usefulness and value are incomparable. The Royal Society of Medicine recently devoted a session to the subject which showed a vista of possibilities to attract girls of varied attainments. The district nurse, instead of being the cinderella of the profession, may then come to occupy her rightful place in public estimation. The service is as efficient as it is quiet and unobtrusive. It is rendered with such readiness that advice and information are accepted and appreciated by people in their own homes when other agencies have neither the ability nor the opportunity to provide them. The band of more than four thousand who bring nearly 130,000 babies into the world each year are making an invaluable contribution to the midwifery service in a time of anxiety, as that, too, has been seriously in need of recruits, though many nurses have obtained the necessary qualification, but merely as an adjunct to secure an administrative appointment. In addition to these well-established fields of nursing activity combined with opportunities for educating the women, and very often the men as well, there are wider opportunities opening up and available for their services in larger numbers. In particular the Minister of Labour with the collaboration of the Minister of Health has established a strong consultative council to further measures to promote the health of workers in factories, and in that undertaking the nurse has an important part providing opportunities to give education in health and hygiene. In factory life as elsewhere, the effect of strain has been noticeable. The conditions of modern life are necessitating an increased amount of attention to mental ill health. Although there has not yet been any general acceptance of its closer association with bodily sickness on the lines adopted by the London County Council, there are possibilities in this direction also which are bound to have

an effect in modifying the position of the mental nursing service as a separate entity. The chief direction, however, in which the nursing authorities will have to consider the curriculum is the provision of suitable staff for the health centres which are taking and will take an increasingly important place in the health services. If nursing is presented to the girls of the rising generation as an opportunity for solid contributions to the advancement of the national welfare, it may well be that it will enlist the interest of some who have turned a deaf ear to its emotional appeal as a means of service to the sick and dying. Nothing but good can accrue to nursing and those who undertake it by a wider conception of its possibilities as an occupation which in its various branches can use a wide range of gifts and the noblest qualities of any woman.

C. E. A. BEDWELL.

Art. 8.—POLITICS, THEORY AND PRACTICE.

1. *The Modern Democratic State*. By A. D. Lindsay. Oxford University Press, 1943.
2. *Reflections on Government*. By Ernest Barker. Oxford University Press, 1942.
3. *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. Report by Sir William Beveridge. H.M.S.O., 1942.
4. *Parliamentary Debates*: House of Commons, Vol. 386, Nos. 30, 31, 32; House of Lords, Vol. 126, Nos. 30, 31. H.M.S.O., 1943.
5. *The Problem of Unemployment*. Lever Brothers, 1943.
6. *The Beveridge Plan for Social Security*. Bulletin of the Institute of Statistics. Oxford. Basil Blackwell, 1943.

'POLITICS' is too frequently regarded as merely a game which the Tadpoles and Tapers play for their own amusement—or profit—and in which the people at large periodically participate during the transitory excitements of parliamentary elections. But Politics is, in truth, much more than that: it is both a Science and an Art.

As a Science it is concerned with the State, its meaning, organisation, functions, and so forth ; as an Art it covers the sphere of government and administration. Throughout the Middle Ages men had little or no interest in 'politics' theoretical or practical. So long as the Church controlled the lives of men from the cradle to the grave, the ordering of daily life was naturally confided to priests. Until *States* began to emerge as the units of government, *the State* naturally failed to excite intellectual curiosity, or supply material for scientific analysis. In short, the Middle Ages, as Lord Bryce insisted, were 'essentially unpolitical.' The business of man was to fight, and to extract the means of subsistence from the soil acquired, in many cases, by fighting.

In the fifteenth century we do find a conscientious teacher like Sir John Fortescue providing a pupil destined to occupy the English throne with a *Vade mecum* on the mechanism of the State under the Lancastrians, but such a scientific analysis of political institutions was unique ; it was appropriate only to a State which like England had become prematurely conscious of its national identity. But things gradually began to change under the influence of what is conveniently, if loosely, termed the 'Renaissance.' That re-awakening of the human intellect manifested itself in many directions : two of these have, in the present connection, special significance. On the one hand, there was a revival of the study of classical literature, especially the works of Aristotle and Plato ; on the other, the decay of the medieval empire and the gradual contraction of the œcumenical authority of the medieval Church, left room for the emergence of national monarchies which in time (though for centuries not exclusively) supplied the basis for the new States-System on which Europe was during the coming centuries to be organised.

Thus 'Politics' began to engage the attention of scholars and statesmen. It is, however, hardly an exaggeration to say that 'The Prince' of Macchiavelli (1469-1527), and Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia' (1516) were the earliest books to give an impetus to the study of Politics in the modern world. The two men approached political problems from angles as wide apart as those adopted by Aristotle and in the New Testament. Macchiavelli was concerned with state-craft in the narrowest

sense of the term, in particular with the problems which presented themselves to an ambitious ruler. The 'Utopia' might almost be described as a treatise on Social Economics. Both books have evoked whole libraries of criticism and commentary.

Nor is it difficult to discern their influence upon contemporary literature in this country. By a happy coincidence the Heads of two Oxford Colleges have lately published important works on politics. Mr Lindsay, as befits the Master of a College lately ruled by a Jowett and an Edward Caird and the home of Thomas Hill Green, is a philosopher. Sir William Beveridge is the typical civil servant who has also enjoyed a wider experience as Director of the London School of Economics. Though both men belong to the left wing of party politics neither has allowed partisanship to darken counsel. To say that Mr Lindsay's work (of which one volume only is at present published) deals with political theory and Sir William Beveridge's Report on Social Insurance with political administration differentiates between them inadequately and not quite accurately. Sir William's Report is indeed exclusively, perhaps too exclusively, concerned with practical problems of administration. But Mr Lindsay's book is not a purely abstract treatise on the Theory of the State. Still less is Dr Ernest Barker's erudite and illuminating 'Reflections on Government.' Dr Barker confesses that the argument of his work is 'general and perhaps even abstract.' 'I have attempted,' he says, 'to see the pattern and design of the wood rather than to examine the idiosyncrasy of each tree, to consider the general movement of ideas and forces in Europe rather than to investigate the peculiarity of each of its parts.' Nor has he failed to fulfil his intentions. Personally I am inclined to regret that he fulfilled them so precisely, that his work is not more concrete and historical and rather less philosophical. But such regrets should perhaps be ascribed rather to the imperfect equipment of a mere historian than to the undue predominance of the philosopher.

Mr Lindsay's book is not easy to classify. Its author insists, indeed, that his conception of the nature of political theory negatives the assumption that it is 'the business of political theory to examine an abstract called

"the State" or "Democracy" and holds that on the contrary its business is 'to reflect on the operative ideals, belief in which came into existence in the nineteenth century in Western Europe, America, and the British Dominions largely as the effect of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution on the absolutist nation state of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.'

By the somewhat cryptic phrase 'operative ideals' Mr Lindsay means 'the ideals which men actually entertain and respect in regard to the kind of life they wish to see encouraged in their Society.' These ideals evidently differ in different types of state, and vary from time to time in the same state. Political theory is, he maintains, 'a philosophical discipline, not because it tries to base our conduct in politics on metaphysics, but because it demands that we should reflect on what we actually do and will, make explicit to ourselves what we do implicitly, think out the assumptions on which we as a matter of fact act.' The 'operative ideals which uphold a state at any time are the result,' as Mr Lindsay points out, of the general culture of the community, which is sometimes affected by the political organisation of the state, but more commonly by 'factors which though affected by politics, operate largely independently of politics,' such as religion, scientific progress, and economic changes. Apart from these ordinary influences there are, of course, cases when a statesman deliberately endeavours by propaganda, or other means, to implant in the minds of a whole nation the operative ideals calculated to sustain the form of government or the social or economic system that he desires to impose. Contemporary examples of revolutions effected in this way are supplied by modern Turkey, Soviet Russia, and Nazi-Germany.

The foregoing illustrations of Mr Lindsay's method may suffice to show, as indeed the title of his book implies, that he has not set out to propound a philosophical theory of the State in general, but to analyse the 'operative ideals' on which the modern democratic State depends.

Nevertheless it is to the domain of political theory that his work belongs, and that domain I must now forsake to turn to a work of a totally different character.

The reception accorded to Sir William Beveridge's Report would be astounding were it not possible to explain it by several circumstances convergently favourable to the success it immediately achieved. Most people are to-day passionately anxious that after the close of the present wars, there should be no repetition of the phenomena which produced such rapid disillusionment and disappointment after 1918. In particular they are determined that the conclusion of international peace shall not be the prelude to the declaration of class war. Short as political memories are, men cannot forget that between 1920 and 1926 we witnessed in England a sustained effort on the part of a Triple Alliance of powerful Trade Unions to usurp the functions of the State. There must be no excuse for the repetition of the menacing situation which reached a climax in 1926. Though unemployment could not justify 'direct action,' the national conscience was deeply stirred by the spectacle of 'desolated areas' in the homeland, and by the failure of the Government and Parliament to solve the obstinate problem of unemployment.

To avert the most painful consequences of unemployment is the leading motive which has inspired the labours of Sir William Beveridge. His Report does not analyse the causes of unemployment, still less does it suggest a solution of the problem. What it does is to assume that unemployment will not again reach the unmanageable proportions suggested by the term 'mass unemployment,' and on that assumption the whole scheme manifestly depends for its validity. Should it not be justified, the vast superstructure erected upon it simply crumbles to ruins.

Sir William can, of course, explain the limitations of his inquiry by the terms of reference. They were narrow. He was simply instructed 'to undertake, with special reference to the interrelation of the schemes, a survey of the existing schemes of social insurance and allied services, including workmen's compensation, and to make recommendations.' To these terms Sir William, in the best traditions of the Civil Service, has rigidly adhered. The Survey has been thoroughly accomplished by Sir William's expert coadjutors, and the results of their labours will doubtless prove invaluable to social historians for some

time to come. Nevertheless, the historian must needs feel disappointed (if quite unwarrantably) that the Report contains no reference, however brief it might have been, to the causes which have produced the problem, the consequences of which Sir William's recommendations are designed to mitigate. A few sentences may be devoted to an attempt to supply the deficiency.

The present problem of recurrent periods of unemployment is due fundamentally to the fact that since the beginning of the last century the vast majority of our people have become wholly dependent upon weekly wages, which, at short notice may cease to be paid. Down to the last quarter of the eighteenth century that was not the case. Four-fifths of our people lived mainly by agriculture, but were not wholly dependent upon it. Nor was there between agriculture and industry any abrupt differentiation. Most farm-houses had their loom and their spinning wheel. Many cottages had one or other. Spinning or weaving helped to supply domestic necessities and also to supplement wages. In addition, many cottagers had rights in common lands, which further helped the household budget. Then came during the Napoleonic Wars, coincident with and consequent upon them, wholesale enclosures. Though common rights were not confiscated without some money compensation; enclosures unquestionably inflicted irreparable injury upon the agricultural labourers. It must not, however, be forgotten that, on the other hand, enclosures saved from starvation the cotton spinners and other artisans in the new manufacturing towns which had suddenly sprung up as a result of the mechanisation of industry and the transference of a multitude of workers from the cottage to the factory. England which had for centuries been a congeries of rural communities was transformed by the 'Industrial Revolution' (c. 1770 to c. 1840) into a land of mines, shipyards, and factories, the centre of a great foreign trade, the headquarters of international finance.

This 'industrial revolution' was not the first crisis of the kind. It had been preceded by the 'agrarian revolution' of the sixteenth century. The 'Utopia' of Sir Thomas More, Latimer's sermons, and many contemporary pamphlets, not to mention the 'stacks of statutes' of which overworked Justices of the Peace

(the Tudors' 'men of all work') so feelingly complained, testify to social unrest and economic dislocation resulting from the 'enclosures' of the earlier period. But the sixteenth-century enclosures differed in purpose from those of the eighteenth century. They were made, not to produce food for man, but pasture for the 'great umberment' of sheep. Loud and reiterated were the complaints that it was to make room for sheep that men had been evicted from their farms. Parliament endeavoured to arrest this development; one Act after another was placed upon the statute-book, but in vain.

Not until the enactment of the Elizabethan Poor Law (1601) was any effective remedy devised for the diseases of 'vagrancy' and unemployment; not until then did the State for the first time assume the direct responsibility of keeping its citizens alive.

Between 1600 and 1800 (roughly) conditions adjusted themselves to the new situation; and it was not until the nineteenth century that the problem, as we face it to-day, became really acute—not, indeed, until England had been almost completely industrialised, and her people had become dependent for employment upon imported raw materials and for subsistence upon imported food. A valuable appendix to the Beveridge Report summarises the course of legislation to provide social insurance and assistance (Appendix B) from the enactment of the Workmen's (Compensation for Accidents) Act (1897) down to the passing of the Old Age and Widows Pensions Acts of 1940. All this forms part of the Survey of existing schemes to which the greater part of the Report is devoted.

Public attention has, however, been concentrated less upon the Survey than upon a series of proposals—a scheme or plan—for which Sir William Beveridge himself is (by agreement with the Minister who initiated the whole matter) solely and individually responsible. The plan really contains three sections: (1) a plan for the abolition of want, by providing social security for all classes whether the components of those classes are, or are not, likely to be in want; (2) a scheme for the consolidation of different forms of insurance; and (3) proposals for the redistribution of wealth. The first two sections ought to be more clearly distinguished from the third than most

commentators on the Report have apparently perceived and perhaps have been willing to acknowledge.

To the abolition of 'want,' in the sense of destitution, social legislation has been primarily directed ever since the sixteenth century. Of that legislation the Beveridge Report is the natural sequel. The Report is after all, as Lord Eustace Percy pointed out in a letter to 'The Times' (April 26), 'only the old Poor Law principle interpreted with greater generosity and greater uniformity.' But, surely, with a most important difference. The relief of pauperism was at one time entirely a charge upon localities: it is now partially, and under the Beveridge Report would become wholly, a charge upon the National Exchequer.

The abolition of want is, however, only part of the plan for 'Social Security.' As used in the Report the latter phrase is thus defined: 'The plan for Social Security . . . is a plan to win freedom from want by maintaining incomes. But sufficiency of income is not sufficient in itself. Any plan for Social Security in the narrow sense assumes a concerted social policy in many fields. . . . The plan here proposed involves three particular assumptions . . . children's allowances, comprehensive health and rehabilitation services, and maintenance of employment' (para. 409). . . . 'The Plan for Social Security is . . . one part only of an attack upon five giant evils; upon the physical want with which it is directly concerned, upon disease which often causes that want and brings many other troubles in its train, upon ignorance . . . upon the squalor which arises mainly through the haphazard distribution of industry and population, and upon the idleness which destroys wealth and corrupts men, whether they are well fed or not, when they are idle' (para. 456). Finally, Sir William utters a warning: 'The plan is not one for giving to everybody something for nothing and without trouble, or something that will free the recipient for ever thereafter from personal responsibilities. The plan is one to secure income for subsistence *on condition of service and contribution* and in order to make and keep men fit for service' (para. 455).

The words I have italicised deserve to be emphasised since they cut the ground from under a good deal—by no means all—of the criticism which the Report has evoked.

Again and again Sir William insists that the contributory principle is popular: 'The capacity of the desire of British people to contribute for security are among the most certain and most impressive social facts to-day. . . . The popularity of compulsory social insurance to-day is established . . . by paying not, indeed, the whole cost, but a substantial part of it as a contribution (the individual) can feel that he is getting security not as a charity but as a right' (para. 296). On this question Lord Simon, speaking in the House of Lords on February 24, uttered words so wise and eloquent as to deserve quotation: 'Social Security,' he said, 'in the proper sense includes much more than providing for the unfortunate. . . . Social life for the community does not consist of compensation or benefit alone, and it would be a tragedy instead of a blessing if we were led to canalise efforts for social security into too narrow or exclusive a channel.'

I cordially agree. None the less Sir William Beveridge is in my judgment right in giving prominent, though not exclusive, attention to a plan for the unification of social insurance. In that plan I have, indeed (if it be permissible to refer to a personal experience) a paternal interest, since the matter was already engaging my earnest attention twenty years ago. By tongue and pen I advocated a scheme of 'all in' insurance which (to quote words used in 1924) should be 'comprehensive, compulsory, and contributory,' the main cost of which should be borne by industries—employers and employees alike—with a *minimum* of assistance from the State. Going beyond mere advocacy, I actually introduced a Bill (in dummy) into the House of Commons to give effect to the scheme. The leaders of the Conservative party, then (1924) in opposition, cordially supported me, and appointed a small shadow Cabinet Committee to help me in working out the details of the scheme. They also put at my disposal expert assistance to draft the Bill. My colleagues on the Committee were Mr Edward Wood (now Lord Halifax), Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr Worthington Evans and perhaps one other. Though we spent some time on the Bill, the actuarial calculations ultimately knocked the bottom out of the scheme, and I was regretfully compelled to withdraw the Bill. The hope that a comprehensive scheme might combine a great economy in administration with increased benefits to the

recipients proved on closer examination fallacious. The only compensation for much labour was the introduction and enactment in 1925 (after the Conservative party had returned to power) of the Widows' and Orphans' Contributory Pensions Bill for which Mr Neville Chamberlain was responsible, though the finance of the scheme was provided by Mr Churchill in his Budget of that year (1925).

This reference (though largely personal) may perhaps be condoned on two grounds: it proves that the Conservative party so far from having any inherent prejudice against the principle of 'Comprehensive Insurance' have been the first to make an effort in that direction, and at the same time it indicates the location of the rocks on which the vessel I was steering went to pieces. Can it be at all confidently asserted that Sir William Beveridge's scheme may not be wrecked on the same rocks? That his scheme will involve expenditure which can only be described as colossal is beyond dispute. The notable speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Debate of February 17 was studiously, and most properly, non-committal, and the illuminating memorandum by the Government Actuary appended to the Report may well give pause to all who are not entirely reckless in regard to the future of public expenditure. Not the least startling item in that expenditure—an item regarded seemingly by the author of the Report with complete complacency—is the cost of Retirement Pensions alone, which is to rise from 126l. millions in 1945 to 190l. millions in 1955, and to no less than 300l. millions in 1965. These figures are exclusive of 'assistance pensions' which are estimated by Sir William Beveridge to fall from 39l. millions in the first year to 25l. millions in 1965. But the actuary considers this estimate to be 'very speculative.' That description applies, I submit, not only to pensions but to the whole basis of the scheme to which, warned by my own unhappy experience, I feel entitled to insist that the meticulous attention of the Treasury ought to be directed.

The Government has, it is true, already announced that it will not recommend Parliament to accept Sir William's scheme for Retirement Pensions, and has formulated its own alternative. But their decision was conspicuously regretted by 'The Times' (February 29) which regarded 'perhaps the most serious divergence from

the Report that which will take Pensions out of the central consolidated scheme in which Sir William Beveridge had embodied them, with prudent provision for contributory finance, and put them up once more for political auction.' 'Political auction'! Does 'The Times' conceive it possible that even the reckless party partisan, bidding for votes in the constituencies would run even a Socialist Government up to a rate of pensions which would involve an expenditure of more than 300 millions a year? Nor do we yet know the worst. On the contrary, the actuary has deemed it his duty to utter a grave warning. 'There is,' he writes, 'no doubt that estimates of the position after 1965 would show a further growth in the proportion of Social Security expenditures to be provided from the Exchequer as compared with the proportions met from the contributions of insured persons and their employers. . . . For many years at least the whole of the additional expenditure, i.e. a growing proportion of the total expenditure, will fall to be met from the Exchequer, under the method of finance envisaged in the Plan.' When it is remembered that in 1965 the Exchequer contributions will be increased as compared with 1945 by 168½ millions or 48 per cent., and by 1965 will be providing 61 per cent. of the total income under the Plan the prospect held out by the requirement of a still larger proportion after 1965 is, indeed, unspeakably gloomy.

Another appendix which deserves careful study is that (Appendix D) which deals with the problems of Industrial Insurance. This appendix differs from that of the Government Actuary on the Comprehensive Insurance Scheme in that the recommendation based upon it—the conversion of the business of industrial assurance into a public service under an Industrial Assurance Board—is not put forward by Sir William Beveridge as essential to the rest of his Plan, and it is noteworthy that this recommendation is in fact the only one of the twenty-three changes suggested by Sir William which the Government have 'for the time being' (the words are Mr Morrison's) definitely rejected. Nor is it cynical to suggest that it is possible to surmise the reason for that decision. The companies engaged in this work have a 'field-staff' of full-time agents and collectors numbering some 65,000.

These men have regular access, week after week, to millions of homes. Many of them are regarded by the policy holders as friends and advisors. What an ideal body of canvassers they would provide, if they chose to employ their opportunities to promote the interest of any particular party or policy! Cynicism apart, what wonder that any Government should hesitate lightly to antagonise them? Yet, no one can read the appendix under consideration without realising that there is a strong, if not conclusive, case for attempting, by some means or other, to secure for the policy holders—there are at present 103,000,000 policies in force—greater benefits at a lower cost. The Prudential, the greatest of the Industrial Assurance offices, has in the last twenty-four years, reduced the expenses of management from 39·1 per cent. of premiums to 15·6. Their expenses were and are substantially lower than those of any other office, though all offices have effected some reduction, the average being from 41·5 in 1912–17, to 32·4 in 1935–40. The average weekly remuneration of the agents is 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the occupation is regarded as so desirable that agents are able to sell their collecting books to successors nominated (under conditions) by themselves for anything from 450*l.* to 1,000*l.* More than one Select or Departmental Committee has been appointed to examine the working of the system and have commented upon its defects. The most serious is perhaps the over anxiety of agents to secure new business for their respective companies, with the result that the number of ‘lapsed’ policies is undeniably excessive. This means on the one hand a regrettable loss of premiums on the part of contributors who cannot keep up their payments, and on the other a denial of necessities by those who are anxious to avoid lapses. No detached reader of this interesting appendix can, in fine, resist the conclusion that there is a strong case if not for the conversion of Industrial Assurance into a Public Utility at least for much stricter control over the operations of the existing companies. But neither the one course nor the other is essential to the Beveridge Plan.

It is otherwise in regard to establishment of a Ministry of Social Security. There was no single item of Sir William’s recommendations about which critics pressed

so persistently for a concession by the Government. In both Houses speaker after speaker—not all of them belonging to the ‘opposition’—urged the Government to set up such a Ministry at once. Archbishop Lord Lang, for example, urged this step upon the Government if only as a means of proving to the country—already somewhat sceptical—that they are not lukewarm in their welcome to the proposals of the ‘Report.’ With great respect I suggest to Archbishop Lang that his apprehensions are groundless. I see no indications of great impatience in the country as a whole. On the merits of the question, coming to its consideration with an entirely open mind, I have come to the conclusion that the arguments put forth by Mr Morrison, by Lord Simon, and not least by Viscount Bennett, against the immediate appointment of a separate Ministry are truly unanswerable. Parenthetically, Lord Bennett’s speech deserves special attention for another reason. It was, perhaps, the most convincing speech in either House, in its exposure of the incredibly fantastic basis on which the Report founds its financial proposals.

Nor is it unfair to suggest that the pressure put upon the Government to proceed at once to the establishment of a Ministry of Social Security was clearly inspired by a desire to commit the Government to an acceptance of the Report not merely in broad principle but to some extent in detail. The Government has most properly and wisely declined to commit itself, except provisionally, either on that or on any other particular recommendation. That the various schemes of Social Insurance ought to be, in the interests of efficiency and economy, consolidated and unified is almost universally agreed. Nor can I agree with those critics who maintain that the achievement of ‘security’ is calculated to undermine the virility of our people or to encourage idleness or *ca canny* among wage earners. There is no evidence that voluntary insurance has had that effect either upon the professional or the wage-earning classes. To take some thought for the morrow not only sets the mind free to devote itself to concentrate upon the main work of life, but engenders that sense of self-respect which is hardly less essential to good work, manual or intellectual.

But the object is one thing, the method by which it is to be attained is another. About the way of attaining

security least open to objection is, despite the careful analysis of the Beveridge Report, a matter on which opinions may legitimately differ. I fondly imagined that I had devised a workable method in 1924. My hope was disappointed. It is only partially revived by the Report. Nor is it possible to doubt that on its recommendations a vast amount of detailed work will have to be done before effect can be given even to its primary purpose—the unification and consolidation of Social Insurance schemes.

That object, with its corollary the abolition of want, does not however stand alone. With many other points emphasised by Sir William Beveridge this article has no space to deal. One of the motives which though not obtruded have inspired its recommendations demands immediate if brief notice. The Report quite evidently aims at a drastic redistribution of wealth. Not that its author has exceeded the limitations imposed upon him by the terms of reference. Not that he fails to recognise and approvingly to emphasise certain characteristics of our people which are definitely individualistic—such as their adherence to the contributory principle, and their reliance upon voluntary agencies. Not that he in any degree obtrudes any opinions which would sustain a charge of partisanship. None the less there is inherent in the Report an obvious sense of satisfaction that its proposals, if adopted, would result in a more equal distribution of wealth. Here—and not only here—the Beveridge Report is completely in accord with recent episcopal admonitions. The prevailing extremes of wealth and poverty have been repeatedly declared to be repugnant to the principles of Christianity. That any class should be allowed to suffer from want while others wallow in luxury is plainly a reproach to any society professedly Christian. Is it, however, certain that the possession of immense wealth by a few individuals is either ethically wrong or economically inadvisable? That riches offer a temptation into which an insignificant minority are apt to fall must be admitted. The class most prone to it are the sons—and in less degree the grandsons—of our *novi homines*—young men who inherit great wealth with no responsibility attach to it. In the vast majority of cases great wealth is recognised as entailing great responsibilities.

The amount of personal satisfaction to be derived from exceptional wealth is strictly limited. Even among the newly rich money is commonly regarded rather as a trust than as a possession, still more among those who with wealth inherit almost burdensome responsibilities. Apart, however, from ethics there is a great deal to be said on strictly economical grounds for what our ecclesiastical mentors denounce as 'gross inequality.' But that is too large a theme for a concluding paragraph. More to the immediate purpose is it to insist upon the truth that all the available evidence tends to prove that there has lately been not only a notable equalisation of incomes, but a most remarkable diffusion of capital. From the economic standpoint the latter development is more important than the former. In reference to the Beveridge Report it is, indeed, all important. It holds out the hope that the main object of the Report—Social Security—may be attained, not, as the Report pre-supposes, largely with the help of the taxpayer, but mainly by the thriftiness of increasingly well-paid employees and not unprosperous employers. But neither employers nor employees can, under the peculiar conditions of this country, be prosperous, nor can even mass-unemployment be avoided, unless, as the Report frankly recognises, our foreign trade is not only maintained but expanded. To develop this theme—fundamentally important though it is—would, however, carry me beyond the wisely imposed limits of the present article. To end it is, therefore, imperative: conclusions must be deferred.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

Art. 9.—BRITAIN AT WAR.

THAT we live in tremendous days no one can doubt: the war has become like a mighty tide, a succession of great waves sweeping in, receding after such onrush—as all tides must—but nonetheless gaining strength irresistibly and flooding higher and higher up the shore towards 'the haven where we would be.'

Such is the first thought that comes to me this morning (May 8) as the news from Tunisia comes in. Inevitable as has been the ultimate outcome of the terrific battles which have been raging in that quarter of the globe for so many months, the last swing of the gigantic see-saw which has rocked up and down all along the immense stretch from Alexandria to Algiers, still throughout these past weeks we have all been steeling our hearts to the belief that before the last ramparts, and upon the fearful mountain-slopes that guarded these, huge losses of valiant young lives and heart-sickening delays would both have to be endured. To-day comes in the electrifying victory, the almost inconceivably sudden rout of von Arnim's forces at the last lap and our entry into both Bizerta and Tunis. For all the marvellous feats of arms and advances by the 8th Army from El Alamein onwards, bursting its way through to Tripoli and then on again into and through the Mareth defences the month of April has been a hard one, very hard for the fighters, hard in anxious sympathy for those who are but onlookers at the most dreadful of games. Daily our troops were called upon to force their way over precipitous crags, held tenaciously by brave and seasoned enemies dug in in concrete—and it seemed to us at home, reading of the immense strength of the defences, as though, perhaps for weeks or even months on end, our sons and brothers and friends would be dashing themselves to death against them.

It may well have been that this was the calculation of the German High Command: it may have been—the records will doubtless one day show the truth to future historians—that that Command did not try to buy time, as was at one time generally supposed, by pouring men and material into Tunisia, so much as to try to buy stalemate. They may seriously have held the view, for all the confidence of our predictions, that in the rugged mountains it would be possible for the defence not merely to delay but to prevent the captures which are announced to-day. The German High Command accordingly paid high and freely, so much the worse for them! They gained some weeks assuredly, but at a cost utterly disproportionate to their hopes. Bizerta and Tunis are ours, and the end of the African campaign is almost on the board. If El Alamein was, as Mr Churchill called it, 'the end of the

beginning,' Field-Marshal Smuts, than whom there is no better judge, has called this 'the beginning of the end'—great words to hear from such a source.

We live so fast that by the beginning of July these great victories will seem long ago: there will be, there can be no pausing now—as well our enemies are aware. These victories are but the prelude, a grand overture as it were; but they are something more. Complete in themselves as they may be, they are indissolubly linked with what—as I write—unquestionably and inevitably lies ahead. And, apart altogether from the purely strategic side, inestimably valuable as these victories are to that, there are at least two features which deserve a word of comment—no more than a word, for already they 'belong to history,' and it is no history, at least certainly not of battles, but a commentary, and one upon the ever-present and yet ever-changing face and mind of Britain, that I attempt: the heart of Britain alone is fixed.

The two features of this North African conclusion which seem to me of paramount interest are these, and they are the two facets of the same jewel. First, from a military point of view there has been forged on the anvil of these intensely bitter and difficult combats a vast weapon of tempered steel. In the earlier days of the war a new feature was introduced into training, battle practice with live ammunition: it was needful because, as commanders pointed out, sooner or later when we were once again in direct contact with German forces we should find that ours, whilst well-equipped at last, brave as always and more than resolute, would be, for the most part, without experience of actual war and would be opposed by troops, a percentage of which—and no inconsiderable percentage—would have come from bloody fields of war in Poland, Russia, Greece, and elsewhere. We had to create huge new armies, and unlike the last war with its lengthy periods of static schooling behind set trench-lines these would be plunged pell-mell into war at its most difficult. Now, as a result of the North African campaign we have thousands who have learnt the art of modern war in its grimmest, and have bettered their instruction. They have beaten the German fairly and squarely and are ready to do it again. They not only know their job, but they

know that when it comes to real show-down they are better at it than their enemy.

Secondly, it is not the men from the British Isles alone or even from the British Commonwealth of Nations alone who have won this victory and forged this weapon: it is the Grand Alliance, the most notable in the history of the world. Never before in this way and degree—not even in the victorious advance of the summer and autumn of 1918—have British, French, and Americans fought as one. Tempered steel is not a natural product, and it is an alloy: we can fairly use it of the great North African forces. The 8th Army had already so covered itself with glory that it was sure of its place in history: now the 1st Army has ‘found itself,’ has been welded together in highest efficiency and victory, and with it has come the testing out, the formation of the magnificent material of the American Corps. Not least, and with a deep appropriateness for all lovers of France, has been the resurrection of the tricolour and the great achievements of our old, much-tried, much-welcomed ally.

And there is something more, which may—or may not—have about it something of a prophetic ring. We were told the struggle for Bizerta and Tunis would be stern and long: Bizerta especially, we were given to understand, was one of the strongest natural fortresses in the world, much strengthened artificially and held by desperate, doughty, and experienced men—it could not be taken quickly. It has cracked like a nut in a great steam-press. So in the summer of 1918 we were told the Germans would fight on dourly and no immediate breaking down of their resistance could be expected. So, now again, are we told of the ‘impregnable fortress of Europe’ to be held interminably against all onslaughts by the Allies. There is, it need hardly be said, no ground for the slightest relaxation of effort: we of the Home Guard just about to celebrate our third birthday are as well aware of that in our humble capacities as anyone—but, all the same, may not a historian wonder? History has been known to repeat itself—sometimes; and undoubtedly the Germans have little to look forward to from now onwards but an increase everywhere of attack.

It is in this connection that some sentences may be noted from an article written by one Baron von

Gleichen-Russwarm in the 'Hamburger Fremdenblatt': he says,

'When we returned home from the victorious battles in Poland, Norway, and France we were rejoicing. We were always happy to talk with our families, in cafés and restaurants, and to tell them our experiences of battles in foreign lands. When we return to-day on home-leave we are either monosyllabic or even silent.' 'When (he continues) the war against Russia started we expected great victories,' and he ends: 'our morale underwent great strain and finally our brains grew dull.'

This is worth a moment's reflection, it is so illuminating—not so much perhaps upon the general state of apprehension and gloom in Germany as upon the mentality of these German hordes of devastating bullies. As long as they were doing the trampling, as long as their jack-boots were set on the helpless lands they were over-running they were 'always happy' to boast about their successes. But now that Nemesis, inexorable and overwhelming, is upon them their 'brains grow dull.' Not a word anywhere in the article of regret or even of understanding at the letting loose upon the world of the dogs of war. Glorious, in fact, are death, destruction, and misery—provided always that they are the fate of some one else. There is an almost terrifying inhumanity about the whole mentality which presents to the future one of the most difficult of all possible problems.

It is on a par, perhaps, with the suddenly expressed concern of the German authorities for the 10,000 bodies of Poles 'discovered' at Katyn, which has been described as 'impudence so sheer as to be tragi-comic.' The outcome, the overflow of the difficulties between the Soviet Union and the Polish Government into an actual and open breach of relations, is one of the distressing events of the spring, a pointer to the magnitude and delicacy of some of the post-war problems. As to this, on the whole, a high degree of statesmanlike reticence has been observed by all really responsible spokesmen, and the utterance of Mgr Patrick Sheen on Easter Sunday in St Patrick's Cathedral, New York—of all times and places—an utterance I will not quote but which was very moderately described by 'The Times' as showing 'bitter partisanship,' has not been followed. Certainly Marshal Stalin has increased

the height of his stature, already so great, by his restrained and realistic views.

It has been, in a sense, Britain's turn, these last months of the spring of 1943. All the autumn and winter it was Russia's, with the ever-wonderful word of 'Stalin-grad' ringing daily, with strain, intensity, and glory, in the ears of mankind. Latterly it has been 'Tunis' and all involved in its coast and surroundings. And it was a great moment in the history of the Grand Alliance when Marshal Stalin's May-day broadcast was given to the ears of all who chanced to be listening-in to its recording. That broadcast was an event—as some utterances can be. For the first time the great ally, who ever since June, 1941, had had against him the impact of the main German armies and had with an anxiety natural in the circumstances been awaiting the hour when some of the force of that impact could be taken off him by the opening of what has been so loosely and inaccurately termed 'the second front,' freely and generously acknowledged the co-operation of this country and of America towards the united aim. He spoke in warm terms both of the huge air attacks by British and American bombers on the war potentialities of Germany and of the North African campaign. For some reason, unexplained and perhaps unexplainable, this broadcast, the most important for the Allies that has come from Russia since she entered the war, received far less attention in our Press than many a lesser pronouncement: it was given in a late edition—later than that described as the 'late London edition'—of 'The Times' on Saturday, May 1: it was not given in either of the two principal Sunday papers that came my way nor was it given in 'The Times' on Monday, May 3, so that it must have been missed by the great majority of readers, and it is impossible, even if one happens to listen-in at the right hour, to gain the full significance of something really important, heard only once and not read through carefully afterwards. It was a poor piece of British publicity.

The spring months, up to the great news of to-day (May 8) have been in many ways a severe testing time—not, doubtless, as the months that lie immediately ahead will be, a time of great and open action: except for Tunisia, which has not in fact dragged on and on but seemed at one stage terribly likely to, it has been a time when we

have seen the check to the marvellous Russian riposte that resulted for the Germans in the almost incredible debacle at Stalingrad and then in the sweep westwards through the Caucasus in the south to Rostov and even Kharkov, together with the relief of Leningrad in the north. General Thaw turned up suddenly to assist the enemy—and since then all has been a tale of desperate attack and counter-attack with Kharkov lost again and our allies stubbornly holding on. Now, once again, it seems that they will very shortly be able to announce the fall of Novorossisk—and after that, who knows? the great and bitter battles of movement will re-open. 'What Man has done once Man can do again'—so it has been said: we are told that in 1943 the Germans will do what they did in 1941 and again in 1942, namely, deliver a huge blow and make great advances. It may be so: but we need not forget that both in 1941 and in 1942 they failed to achieve their objectives, and as far as the saying is concerned, any man who jumps off a high precipice can prove it wrong. The climax of the war, no doubt, approaches; but there cannot be the slightest reason to suppose that it will be according to the German plan.

Meanwhile, the pace quickens behind the fronts everywhere. Foremost of the signs of the times comes the increasing crescendo—it deserves the double meaning—of the air attacks on Germany, with some attention to Italy also. The signs begin to multiply that these are having their two-fold effect, upon the actual production of war material on the Continent, and upon the general morale of the enemy peoples: however dour or dragooned these may be, there comes a time, with onslaughts so large and so sustained, when repair cannot keep pace with destruction and with its consequent inevitable effects upon the life of the community. Within the last few days we have been told, for example, that this time has already come as far as railway maintenance is concerned. No one dare indulge for a moment in that species of hope which has come to be known by the term 'wishful thinking,' and May had hardly dawned with all its possibilities before I heard an able and experienced civilian argue that the war against Germany would last another five years and that against Japan two more after that—poor Italy did not even get a mention. He may be right and it is

assuredly wise to act, all of us, as though we were sure he is—especially over the Far Eastern situation, where progress is painfully slow, if sure. At the same time it would be unnecessarily sparing of hope to deny that there are signs now appearing in Germany of internal difficulties, which for all the obvious and many differences between this war and the last do bear some resemblance to the signs that appeared in the summer of 1918—and the old middle-class in Germany has been all but swept away. Whatever goes on above, however cleverly the veneer is spread, there is much underneath to hide and to eliminate. Even Mr Hannen Swaffer who is little inclined to be encouraging to our war directors has noted the signs, but phrased one of them with a dig at our past which would seem a trifle misplaced: commenting upon the disappearance of Hitler as a voice he wrote in mid-April, 'four years ago Hitler orated in a vast space crammed with idolatrous Nazis, upon whom admiring British anti-Russians beamed envious approval'—a good piece of caustic journalism perhaps, but hardly historical.

The changes are not in our enemy only: it is when we look back and, as the Harrow song has it, 'forgetfully wonder what we were like in our work and our play' that we can realise the immensity of the transformation of all our lives. We were undeniably, and perhaps inexcusably, slow in getting into our stride; that we are fully in it now no one can doubt. Never before, not even at the end of the last war, were we geared up in every possible way as now, with huge armies, a vastly augmented navy, and an air force that deserves to be called the Great Avenger, though that is but one of its rôles, as the 1st Army 'blasting its way through' has just shown—and these three mighty engines of war supported by our factories.

We have seen in Tunisia the knitting together of British and American Armies as never before: we are seeing, as never before, the knitting together of British and American personalities in this isle of England, with half London, as it sometimes seems, in American uniforms: we are seeing too, also as never before, a cooperation in industrial production of stupendous magnitude, solving some problems, creating others, the main difference being that the problems it solves are those of war and to-day and those it creates are those of peace and to-morrow. At one time

the operation of Lease-Lend was rather like traffic in a one-way street: that time has long gone by, and the traffic is thick now both ways. Even so, and to pay due tribute to the vastness of the American effort, let us record Colonel Knox's statement in April on U.S.A. naval construction: he told the world that 'the number of destroyer escorts designed for submarine warfare to be completed in 1943 will be greater than the total number of all destroyers in service on Dec. 31, 1942' and also remarked that 'a modern battleship has a hundred times the anti-aircraft fire-power of a pre-1942 battleship.' So little ever is revealed as to the figures and facts of the last hope of our terrible enemy, his U-boat campaign, that we all dwell the more avidly on any that are given out to us. We know—and so do Hitler and his gang—that once doubt begins to cross the German mind as to their chances of salvation by sinkings demoralisation must begin: and when once it begins, it may, though we dare not yet say that it will, spread like a prairie fire.

Our gearing up is approaching, if it has not already reached, its maximum—and never have women worked as the women of Britain are working. If, as some who have seen troops in training and films of troops in action think must be the case, the young men who return from such training and such action will be 'tough,' the effect of these war conditions of work upon our women, not only the young but practically all, is yet to be foreseen. Some think we are now working our women too hard, and we shall have a sad bill to pay in consequence: Mr Bevin would probably say in effect *c'est la guerre*, and look to Lord Woolton to avoid those consequences—and by general consent Lord Woolton continues to do his very difficult job exceeding well. However that be, there were few who grudged congratulations to Mrs Tate for winning at last her long campaign to obtain equal pay to women as compensation for injuries. It was Charles II who stepping ashore after his travels to become the acknowledged King was so warmly greeted that he jocularly remarked he was so popular that it was obviously his own fault that he had stayed away so long: when we do change our mind, we do it as though we had never held any other view.

It is possible that a similar thought was in the mind of

Mr G. M. Young when he applauded the long and very important broadcast speech made by the Prime Minister late in March, calling it 'as well-timed as it was necessary,' for Mr Young had just described the Conservative Party—of which as well as of the Government and the nation Mr Churchill is the leader—as having 'a unique genius for allowing itself to be outgeneralled and a remarkable aptitude for surviving the consequences of its own stupidity.' Mr Churchill at least deserves this description less than any man of his generation. His broadcast contained so much, was cast so greatly and so widely over the future that it will be the text for Bills, debates, and all other parts of the politics of the coming times for a long period ahead. In its immediate purpose it was, though criticised, eminently successful: it did as much as any single public utterance could ever do to establish the predominance in war of our national unity. Hereafter, as we all recognise, the changes must be many and profound.

The extent of this recognition is perhaps of vital significance. It is true that only a week or two ago a leader-writer in one of our principal papers wrote, 'among the saddest features of our age is the dulling of our reaction to cruelty and persecution,' adding, 'the present murder of Europe's Jews is the greatest horror of all times.' I cannot help feeling that his comment is, perhaps, due to an error in proportion: the first task, on the fulfilment of which all other tasks, big and small, depend, is to defeat Germany, Italy, and Japan—until the reign of brutal might is ended, there is no hope anywhere for mankind. Our reactions are not dulled to cruelty and persecution: we are bending the whole of our energy to their destruction and from that there can be no turning aside whatever. Everywhere one goes one finds a detestation of the mass-murders of the Continent, but what is the use of words against an enemy who regards them as a tribute and takes no account of anything but the power of an avenger?

We do react, and on a wider scale than ever before; and we determined that much that has happened in the world shall not, if thought and will can prevent it, recur to shame mankind. A definite illustration of this is to be found in the reaction to the state of health, cleanliness, and general habits of such numbers of children evacuated

at the outset of the war from London and other large towns: here is a typical comment on the facts as now set forth; 'The evacuation of September 1939,' writes Mr Harold Nicolson, M.P., 'was not only a terrible disclosure, it was also a great opportunity. Many evils have been disclosed, but much permanent good has been done.' That is the mind of the nation, and three and a half years of anxiety, labour, and conflict have deepened it into a purpose that, as can be little doubted, will endure.

Coupled with this purpose, indeed, it may be hoped, the very basis and life-blood of it was the spirit animating the memorable broadcast by Her Majesty the Queen, a broadcast as beautiful as it was courageous, laying an emphasis upon religious belief that was specially welcome to thousands of her hearers. 'Without vision the people perish': that old, old truth needs to be stated afresh to each generation, but at least there has seldom been one more ready to receive it.

How difficult it is for a member of any other nation to understand us, and perhaps most of all is it difficult for such to understand the monarchy and its place in our lives. Such a broadcast should help, and yet it was only a few days later that Colonel McCormick, the proprietor of the 'Chicago Tribune,' was writing publicly to tell us we could easily do without the monarchy and to suggest that, in the future, we should apply for membership of his own nation; we were to have the honour of becoming one of the United States of America, Canada another, and so forth. As one who has enjoyed in his time another honour, namely, that of being told he would always be welcome in Chicago—although I am obliged to confess that was said to me in days when that great city was the most notoriously lawless in the world—I feel I am entitled to say to Colonel McCormick, 'Think again, boy!'

We are resolved that in many ways our future shall not be as our past, but we remain ourselves, both in speech and in action. It seemed to me a characteristically British reply when during one of the most difficult of the disappointments of the see-sawing Tunisian campaign, an eminent lawyer, asked what he thought about our situation during Rommel's big counter-attack on Sfax on April 10, called it 'not too good.' It put me in mind of the foreigner hearing an Englishman describe himself as

'hungry and fed up'—though to-day he would presumably use the term 'browned off.'

Changes—some clearly for the better, some less obviously so. In the former category we may confidently put the establishment of machinery for conciliation in the mining industry: for awhile it seemed as though the stubborn area of Northumberland were going to bring to naught the most valuable work of Lord Greene and his colleagues, but that unworthy disappointment has been averted, and it is a reasonable hope that the long era of bitterness and mutual suspicion which have rested on that basic industry like a dark cloud lies in the past: the agreement on machinery was possible only because of the changed spirit for the better between representatives of the mine-owners and the miners. A change in the second category is to be found in the taking over by the Minister of Aircraft Production of the work of aircraft companies, Government directors and even Government ownership of shares. Possibly in war it is inevitable that such changes should not only be made but made without explanation, but there has resulted an uneasy feeling that Sir Stafford Cripps has found in the conditions of these times an unduly favourable opportunity for the putting into effect of some of his personal theories of popular government.

On the whole it is really an astonishing tribute to the intensity of our concentration upon victory—for which, as we all know, continued unity, both amongst ourselves and our Allies and internally, is indispensable—that there has been so little criticism of the Government. That is due, as far at any rate as my personal observation goes, to the assured belief, both by the political parties and by the public, that we have in Mr Churchill a leader of unflinchable purpose: nothing is going to turn him away from the primary target, nothing—and that is what we all want. And so it is, at least so it seems to be, that the inevitable mistakes which are made are taken in good part, and criticism is confined to sniping and all attempts at serious artillery work is eschewed.

Amongst these subjects for mild criticism has been the uncertainty and illogicality of the treatment of vendors of flowers: it was never explained why, suddenly, the despatch of flowers by rail was forbidden, or why, after

an interval during which nothing was changed, it was allowed again. It would have been reasonable to have said, if it were necessary to say it, that there was no room on the trains, but in fact the spaces that would have been taken up by the flowers were not, it seemed, required for anything else : it would have been reasonable also to have said, if necessary, that no one was to grow flowers for sale, only vegetables, but that was never argued. Instead, all sorts of devices, ingenious or elaborate, were resorted to to get the flowers to market by means other than by train : much labour was expended, and, as many flowers were not despatched, much hardship was inflicted. However, after a period of trial and error, the prohibition was rescinded, though, as is customary, no mistake was ever admitted.

A change of another character, a symptom of the trend of these years and its economic stress, is the greatly increasing responsibility attaching to the National Trust. Gift after gift, prospect after prospect are passing into its hand for the national benefit hereafter—not since the dissolution of the monasteries has so much change been taking place in the organic structure of the countryside. Side by side with that is the increase of pressure, from Lord Beaverbrook and others who sometimes call for a 'Second Front' and sometimes, equally vehemently, for labour to be spent elsewhere, for more cottages : according to Lord Cranborne, the target—after the war—is 300,000 new cottages—it was not explained what would be left of the country if and when they are erected ; it sounds rather a terrifying prospect for any lover of beauty, especially when he looks at the ugly designs apparently favoured.

But that is for the hereafter—and the time of that is unknown, indistinct still. It may indeed have become quite clear to-day as I write (May 8) that the Axis in Tunisia are fighting—as was prophetically, if amusingly, said by the 'Daily Telegraph' just a month ago—'a mulish action without hope of tactical posterity,' though I had always imagined that it was not mulish to have posterity, strategic, tactical, or genealogical. But, however that be, only one thing is really quite clear and that is that the road ahead is stern. It may be short, or it may be long—but that it will be stern, even terrible, admits of as little doubt as that it will lead to victory, complete and absolute. There are those who think that

Mr Churchill and President Roosevelt were wrong in setting as our goal 'unconditional surrender': Mr Stokes, M.P., has gone so far as to write a pamphlet against that goal, even declaring 'If allied troops do succeed in marching into Berlin, then there will certainly be another war in twenty years' time.' That is not the belief generally held, nor is it Marshal Stalin's. That we shall march into Berlin and that there will not be another war—at least none made by Germany—in twenty or in forty years' time are the two great certainties.

Let us end, as the British always like to do both when it is suitable and when it is the reverse, on a note of humour, and let it be none the worse for being both true and Irish. There was a day when one of our Service flying-boats was forced for lack of petrol to make a forced landing in the sea in the vicinity of one of the ports of Southern Ireland. Dolefully the crew faced the fact that they would be due for internment as the harbour-master put out to investigate; but his question was 'how much petrol d'you want?' Surprised, the commander answered, 'Why d'you ask? Aren't you supposed to be neutral?' 'Faith,' replied the harbour-master, laughing, 'We know which side we're neutral on!'

So says the world, and so will it say down all the corridors of Time.

GORELL.

June 7. How the bubbles rise at the waters near boiling point! Events pile up like mountains: the future will select the most vital, but how can the present do so? In Tunisia not merely victory, but victory as absolute as any in history, with von Arnim in England—not a conqueror: the Third International has died, unlamented, at Marshal Stalin's wise and far-seeing hand: de Gaulle and Giraud have met and at length agreed, a rebirth of the true soul of France: the Prime Minister has returned from a long conference in Washington, unconcerned with the health either of Hitler, Mussolini, or the Emperor of Japan: the President has won the first round against the U.S. miners' intransigent leader: that terrible process euphemistically termed 'softening' is applied unceasingly to the enemy's islands and ports in the Mediterranean. A month of marvels—and yet no more than a promise. 'Onward, Christian soldiers!'

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

John Ray, Naturalist: His Life and Works. Charles E. Raven, D.D.

A New Philosophy and the Philosophical Sciences. A. Makrakis.

Man and Boy. Sir Stephen Tallents.

The Spanish Labyrinth. Gerald Brenan.

Federalism and the Problem of the Small State. Sir J. A. R. Marriott.

The Daily Press. Wilson Harris.

Education for a World Adrift. Sir Richard Livingstone.

The Literature of England, A.D. 500-1942. W. J. Entwistle and Eric Gillett.

The United States: A Historical Sketch. Dr E. A. Benians.

War and Disease. Dr Ralph Major.
The Atlantic System. Forrest Davies.

They Were 'Great Americans.
Twenty - Eight Contemporary Americans.

Cambridge Retrospect. Dr. T. R. Glover.

The Great O'Neill. Sean O'Faolain.

'John Ray, Naturalist: His Life and] Works,' by Charles E. Raven, D.D. (Cambridge University Press). It was at once John Ray's good fortune and ill fortune that he entered Cambridge before the classical tradition was dead. As a result, he became an expert Latinist, better able, indeed, to express himself in Latin than in his native tongue, and almost all his books were written in Latin. They were read by the learned in all countries, and due honour was paid to Ray for his important achievements in science, more especially in botany. Nor have his name and contributions to botanical knowledge been forgotten by scientific botanists to-day. But to the general public, his works have remained sealed books; and to the vast majority of folk in this country and America who take some interest in botanical matters, and to whom the names, for example, of Gerarde and Parkinson are quite familiar and their works possibly known, the name of John Ray is without significance. Yet the contributions of Gerarde and Parkinson to botanical knowledge are quite insignificant compared with those of John Ray. Gerarde's 'Herball' remains a delightful book; but Gerarde wrote as a physician interested primarily in the medicinal virtues of plants. Parkinson's 'Theatrum Botanicum' was written from the same angle, while in his more famous work, 'Paradisi in Sole' he reveals himself as a floriculturist rather than as a botanist in the scientific meaning of the term. In all three works, and, indeed, practically all the old herbals, species are unnecessarily multiplied, for the very simple

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reason that their authors had no clear conception of what constituted a species. It remained for John Ray to indicate those differences which are specific and those which are merely varietal. To-day, perhaps, the conception of a fixed number of immutable species created once and for all may seem primitive, but just as the Daltonian concept of the unchanging atom played a part of leading importance in the development of chemical science, so did John Ray's concept of a species in the development of the biological sciences. Moreover, to John Ray, botanical science owes the important division of flowering plants into monocotyledons and dicotyledons; and, even if his more detailed system of classification erred in the sharp divisions made between trees, shrubs, and herbs, it was at any rate the first, and in many respects a very successful, attempt at a natural system of classification of plants. John Ray had a genius for observation and exact description, and much of his written work was based on first-hand knowledge. Dr Raven's book is a work of vast erudition. John Ray's contributions to knowledge outside botany receive adequate notice as well as his achievements which won him the title of 'incomparable botanist.' Every page bristles with footnotes, so that the curious may, if they wish, check up the author's statements.

'A New Philosophy and the Philosophical Sciences,' by A. Makrakis (Hellenic Educational Society, Chicago). This book is not only of special interest as the result of the lifelong researches of a modern Athenian philosopher known as the new Socrates, but also because, for the first time in the history of philosophy, it proves by infallible logic the existence of the Eternal God and the immortality of Man. Makrakis, whose original views attracted many disciples, founded a school in Athens at the end of the last century, but it was closed by the authorities who tried to brand him as a heretic. He continued, however, to lecture to the end of his life, and wrote many books, the essence of which is contained in the present volume. The philosopher, he says, aspires to know the whole truth . . . to condemn falsehood and delusion everywhere, and to bring universal peace and prosperous life to mankind . . . abolishing War. To understand philosophy it is necessary to begin with the lesser sciences and study the

truths they contain. He proves by logic and ontology that there exists one perfect Being, whose name is God, and that God is a Trinity: Mind, Idea, and Spirit: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Man is also a trinity: body, soul, and spirit. His body is the object of two sciences, physiology and medicine; his soul, together with all mental phenomena, is the object of psychology. Makrakis discusses the two natures of the soul, the carnal and the spiritual; both are necessary for its development and progress and its volitive faculty is the heart and centre of life. No matter from what angle, he says, he views the universe, he comes up against proof of God's existence. The idea of God is acquired through the spirit and logic: right reason; man realises that the Eternal God exists, and that he himself exists, and is to God, the Perfect One, as a son is to his Father, with whom he is destined to become equal and immortal, despite his deficiencies and imperfections, for through Christ, the Son, he can attain perfection. Having established these truths Makrakis turns to the Word of God and expounds the Scriptures, believing that in them we shall find Eternal Light. His clear-cut opinions, reasoned out and stated with clarity and simplicity, form a great contrast to the clashing of the philosophers of to-day over such subjects as the meaning of Meaning. The translation from the original Greek is extremely well done.

The Home Civil Service is generally believed to give its members a life of dignified and honourable but monotonous and unadventurous industry. Far from this has been the case of Sir Stephen Tallents as told in his book '**Man and Boy**' (Fabers). A normal official beginning in the Board of Trade led to service with the Irish Guards in the last war and thence to the perplexities of the Ministry of Food, to the Delegation of Relief and Supply in Poland and the British Commissionership for the Baltic Provinces with many attendant adventures between Balts, Letts, Esthonians, Germans, and Bolsheviks. After that came a period in Ireland during troubled times leading to the Empire Marketing Board and other spheres of activity not detailed in this book. A fair criticism would be that the early chapters are perhaps overloaded with an excessive amount of minor detail of a not extraordinary childhood and boyhood in the dignified comfort of

Ennismore Gardens or the affluent piety of Denbies, the home of the Cubitts, or at Harrow. But the author's literary skill holds the reader firmly even in most ordinary details and the chapters about Denbies are really a valuable period picture of the end of the Victorian era in the home of a wealthy and high-minded man of business, with its heavy decorations, bountiful feeding, troops of servants, rows of greenhouses, glossy and underworked carriage horses, and solid, comfortable, and somewhat smothering routine and general benevolence and kindness. Readers will find much to enjoy.

Had he been able, or willing, to add objectivity to wide and industrious reading, Mr Gerald Brenan, in '*The Spanish Labyrinth*' (Cambridge University Press), might have produced the final and comprehensive work on Spain so badly needed. He has more than adequately fulfilled his intention of giving very detailed accounts of the thousand political, economic, provincial, and historic factors that go to make up the Spains. What is missing in the study, as in the Spains themselves, is philosophic co-ordination, and a synthesis that would place the multitudinous contradictions of the national life in an understandable perspective. The only two historic factors that have even approximately succeeded in uniting the Spains were the Church and the Crown and, for the moment, these are in eclipse: the Army, the third great factor, has always played an ambiguous rôle. Mr Brenan is at his best on Agriculture and Syndicalism, and on the Carlists he gets down to the philosophic roots which gave that somewhat shoddy movement long life and vitality. The Spaniard can storm a fort or capture any hill; he can hold nothing. Ardent, passionate, and violent, the means are to him far more appealing than the end. Incapable of discipline, self-discipline, or patience he has never yet taken his proper place in the vanguard of European civilisation.

'Federalism and the Problem of the Small State,' by Sir J. A. R. Marriott (George Allen and Unwin) comes most appositely at a time when the subject is much under discussion, largely as the result of conscientious but not altogether convincing works by certain American thinkers. The problem is one which has for several centuries past encouraged schemes which are excellent and satisfying on

paper but anything but workable in practice. Sir John's chapter headings show the scope of this most informative and compact little work: the Genesis of the Problem; Projects of Peace; the Holy Alliance and the Small States; the League of Nations—Great and Small; a Great Experiment 1920-1939; Leagues, Personal Unions, Confederations; Federal Unions and Small States. 'Federalism as a form of Government represents a relatively recent experiment in Politics. The Constitution drawn up at the Convention which met under the presidency of George Washington at Philadelphia in 1787 was the first truly federal Constitution the world has known. Embryonic forms of federalism there have been in plenty.' To this may be added another quotation: 'Federal Government is difficult enough to work in countries like Canada, the U.S.A., and Australia consisting of coherent and relatively homogeneous communities. It must needs be incomparably more difficult to apply it to Nation-States geographically separate, racially heterogeneous, politically diverse, and long accustomed to the exercise of untrammelled sovereignty.' That is the problem and it is clearly, comprehensively, and most usefully discussed with valuable reference to past experiments, present proposals, and future hopes.

Mr Wilson Harris, Editor of the 'Spectator,' has achieved a little masterpiece of compact, lucid, and interesting information in 'The Daily Press' (Cambridge University Press, 'Current Problems' series). He begins with a study of the functions of the Press and of its historical origins. Then he describes how a daily newspaper is edited, produced, and circulated. Then follow interesting chapters on Influences and Restraints, the Journalist, and Editor and Owner. Finally there is a reasoned forecast of the future. The duty of the Press is to purvey straight news and honest views. 'The task is to secure news, the earliest news and the best news, from all quarters, to select, to reject, abbreviate, arrange what remains in columns and pages under headlines terse, apt, and telling, supplement it with articles explanatory, critical, constructive or merely entertaining and despatch the result, multiplied a millionfold to the four quarters of the Kingdom.' The amplification of this thesis together with a consideration of cognate subjects such, among

others, as individual and syndicated papers, owners' and editors' control, and circulation-catching schemes form the contents of this 'excellent little book. One further sentence should be quoted, 'The one charge never brought against the British Press is that it is capable of being bribed.'

Another outstanding addition to the Current Problems series is Sir Richard Livingstone's '**Education for a World Adrift**,' and on such a subject no one can write with higher authority. This age of change has its double problem, material and spiritual, and in this an interesting comparison is made with the Victorian age. The virtues and defects of our education are clearly shown, with its failure to impart standards and its unconscious utilitarianism. History is a useful guide and should be used as such, and we still have very much to learn from early Greek philosophy. There are two great obstacles in the road to true education, examination and specialisation. Both are necessary to some extent but both, if overdone, 'hold great dangers. 'The greatest condemnation of our pre-war civilisation is that though the war has destroyed much of it we have little to regret except some beautiful buildings.' 'The child of to-day is born into a world whose traditions and standards are weakened, a world with inherited good habits but with no ruling philosophy of life.' 'We and our education have been too absorbed in the matter of life to think of its spirit. We must restore to it a vitamin—a religion, a philosophy of living, a definite ideal to guide, discipline, and dominate the lives of individuals and through them, national life.' 'Standards, right values, the science of good and evil—to implant these is an essential part of education.' These short extracts may be taken as the theme of this most useful little book.

An almost impossible task is attempted in '**The Literature of England, A.D. 500-1942**' (Longmans). Messrs W. J. Entwistle and Eric Gillett can hardly hope to succeed in doing in under 300 small pages what Mr George Sampson only achieved in 1,200 larger ones in the 'Concise Cambridge History of English Literature.' While paying tribute to the energy and erudition displayed by both authors of the smaller book, we may add that Mr Entwistle's part, dealing with literature up to the end of the Victorian era, compressed and bare-boned

though it has to be in such small space, is more successful than Mr Gillett's part. It is not easy to understand the system on which admissions and omissions are made. Why should Hugh Walpole have two pages while Stanley Weyman, Seton Merriman, and D. K. Broster (who have had profound influence in encouraging the reading of history) are omitted. Why does Conan Doyle (apart from Sherlock Holmes) get only two lines when, for instance, Lord Mancroft gets five? Why is O. Henry, an American, included and so many British authors omitted, and finally how can any list of present-day historians be complete without Sir J. A. R. Marriott, to whom students of history and politics owe so much? As a work of reference giving useful information the book is to be welcomed, but with somewhat better selection and somewhat more space how much more valuable the result would have been.

In these days, when it is more desirable than ever before that we should understand and appreciate our American allies, a short and clear summary of the history of the U.S.A. is specially valuable. Such a work is 'The United States: A Historical Sketch,' by Dr E. A. Benians, Master of St John's College, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press). In under 120 pages the author takes us from 1776 to 1942 by stages entitled, The New Nation, Western Settlement, The Union, Industrial Greatness, and the New World and the Old. We are shown the amazing evolution of the original thirteen more or less pastoral states on or near the Atlantic coast to the present forty-eight stretching to the Pacific and from Canada to Mexico, and illustrating every phase of human activity from the still open ranches of the West to the immense and overwhelming workshops of Chicago, Pittsburgh, or Detroit, from the more easy going and still somewhat traditional life of the South to the never ceasing whirl of New York. The book is not overloaded with dates, statistics, or minor detail, but gives a lucid bird's-eye view of political and constitutional history and development with some account of such events as are necessary to give a true picture.

In 'War and Disease' (Hutchinsons) Dr Ralph Major skims lightly over the pages of the history of war, allowing himself a pause at certain incidents and personalities, which he describes at some length. The

wars, campaigns, and battles on which he dwells he links up with the diseases then prevalent, and he often gives a brief history of these. He points the moral, that disease, famine, and pestilence, the usual comrades of war, take a higher toll of human life than war itself; he does not grant that advances in medical science have come as a result of the painful experiences of war, but holds that progress, laboriously achieved in peacetime, has been put to the test, on a large scale and of necessity, in time of war.

His account of the ravages of typhoid fever in the Spanish-American War of 1898 and in the Boer War is a timely reminder of our debt to medical science which has since those disastrous days elaborated preventive inoculation, but he stresses that preventive inoculation goes hand in hand with improvements in diet and sanitation. The thorny question of the typhoid carrier, and of the liberty of the subject, is well exemplified by the story of 'Typhoid Mary,' whose career as a cook and a carrier caused ten outbreaks and at least fifty-one cases of typhoid fever; and the accounts of the Crusades, the wanderings of the Knights of St John, and of how the International Red Cross organisation sprung from the observations of an energetic idealist, a chance spectator of the horrors of the battle of Solferino, make interesting reading. The book can claim no great erudition, and, as it tells of wars, it is sometimes unpleasant reading, but it is always lively.

Mr Forrest Davies in '**The Atlantic System**' (George Allen and Unwin) says: 'The Anglo-American entente symbolised by the Atlantic conference . . . is a product of organic growth. . . . Its time of maturing has been the last half century, roughly since the United States signified its intention to return in force to the sea and to take a hand in affairs beyond its shores.' That is the kernel of his thesis and he has no difficulty in convincing his readers that this consummation, as inevitable as it is right, is not only good for Anglo-American civilisation, but for that of the whole world. Mr Davies, who owes much to Mahan, whom he warmly admires, has traced the history of the Atlantic system and the story of Anglo-American relations from the beginning until 1941. Setting aside all sentiment, he finds in Anglo-American collaboration the hope of the world. He is not in favour of 'Union Now,'

and warns us of: 'the danger of making permanent arrangements between nations on the basis of temporary need or wartime sentiment.' A wise, well written, timely study.

'They Were Great Americans,' by Twenty-Eight Contemporary Americans with an Introduction by Lord Halifax and a Preface by Mr Henry Morgenthau, Jr (George Allen and Unwin), might be called a timely hotch-potch. It is timely because anything that enlightens us about American people, thought and habits, is very useful, and certainly most readers will realise from this work how ignorant they are of many great Americans. It is a hotch-potch because the twenty-eight biographical essays are of widely different value and interest and are arranged in no apparent system, chronological or otherwise—thus Lincoln finds himself next Judge Cardozo, Alexander Hamilton next W. J. Bryan, and Lafayette next Woodrow Wilson. Taken as a whole the selection is an interesting and comprehensive one and undoubtedly some of the essays invite further study of the people with whom they deal.

Perhaps an Oxonian should not review Dr T. R. Glover's '**Cambridge Retrospect**' (Cambridge University Press) as the temptation to ask the somewhat ribald question whether in past days in Cambridge notability bred oddity or oddity notability is hardly to be resisted. However, the honest Oxonian must admit that biographical research on the banks of the Isis would likewise find no lack of oddities. Three of Dr Glover's chapters are occupied with reminiscences of well-known figures in Cambridge, largely from his own college of St. John's—Mason, Mayor, Liveing, Heitland, Sandys, Graves, Haskins, Rendel Harris, Ridgeway and many others. Perhaps great brains combined with the semi-monastic celibate life of dons under the old regulations may have contributed to the oddities which undoubtedly many of them showed. Dr Glover suggests that when they were allowed to marry and live out amid the pleasures and cares of home life they tended to become more normal. The first and last chapters, on the origins of Cambridge and on undergraduates, make specially good reading. Dr Glover had a keen sense of humour and a wit that was not always unbarbed. It is sad that this must be put in the past tense as the author of this

instructive and entertaining little book died, greatly regretted, last May.

Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, who lived from 1550 to 1616, is one of the many legendary figures of Irish history, and in 'The Great O'Neill' (Longmans) Mr Sean O'Faolain has almost succeeded in bringing him to life. The materials available are scanty and unreliable, and O'Neill's name (like so much in Irish history) has been the plaything of politicians. The legend that he manfully withstood England and Elizabeth for the long, bitter years while he held high the banner of the perishing Gaelic world is so much nonsense. A realist, Red Hugh was far more of a Renaissance than a Celtic figure and, as Mr O'Faolain points out in his preface, carefully avoided a clash with England for more than a quarter of a century. Although the author disclaims writing an academic study his work is as reliable as he could make it and, where such exist, he has consulted original documents. Like many Irish patriots O'Neill won admiration in Ireland for the wrong reasons. Mr O'Faolain has rescued him from the mists of factional piety and, in fine and moving prose, placed him with his peers in history.

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